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The Shape of Things

DISORDER IN PALESTINE IS AN AFTERMATH of the British Cabinet's unforgivable stupidity. A great chance has been muffed. The Anglo-American Commission's report provided an immediate sanctuary for 100,000 Jews from Europe and outlined a long-term program which, under adequate supervision, would have provided a reasonable and peaceful solution of the Palestine problem. Acceptance by the British Labor government, pledged before taking office to just such a plan, would have changed the whole political climate in the Near East. It would have enlisted the cooperation of Jewish patriots in Palestine now engaged in activities to facilitate illegal immigration and weakened the prestige of the extremists. It would have secured the active support of the American government which quickly indicated its approval of the report. But instead the chances of a decent solution were squandered. Attlee's statement calling for the disbanding of all Jewish armed forces as a condition to acceptance, Bevin's crassly irresponsible Bournemouth speech, the policy of Britain's armed forces in Palestine, have burned up the good will needed for a peaceful settlement. Meanwhile, the Arab League leaders—always quick to exploit the dilly-dallying of British governments—have recovered from their confusion, imported the pro-Nazi Mufti, and showed signs of violent resistance to any attempt to admit more Jews. There is no time to be lost if a great tragedy is to be avoided. The joint sessions now taking place in London between the British government and President Truman's committee on Palestine must come out with a firm statement putting into effect the main proposals of the report. At this stage, the need is not for more divisions of British troops but an end to equivocation.

*

THE GROMYKO VETO WAS A SERIOUS BLOW not only to the cause of the Spanish Republic but to the hopes of those who felt that the Security Council might give leadership in the cause of world security and justice. The report of the subcommittee presented by Foreign Minister Evatt of Australia was admittedly a compromise between the insistence of the Polish delegate for immediate sanctions and the milk-and-water attitude of the British and Americans. We ourselves favored the Polish proposal but felt that Evatt offered a plan which could secure the widest possible acceptance by the Security Council and point the way to effective action by the member nations of the General Assembly. Already the subcommittee's report had caused serious distress in Franco circles. Its adoption would have brought increasing public pressure in all the democratic nations of the world to end this fascist menace. What is most tragic is the indication that the Gromyko turndown was due not so much to his chagrin over the mildness of the measures proposed as to the insistence of his government that the authority of the Assembly be not strengthened. The supplementary statements of the French delegate and Mr. Evatt reassured the Polish delegate that the proposed action in no way disparaged the authority of the Council. It is a pity, considering the issue at stake, that the Soviet delegate did not see fit to follow Mr. Lange's example and support the proposal. What is quite clear is that the issue must not be dropped. It must in some way be placed on the agenda of the Assembly if the Security Council takes no action. Franco's extra lease on life must not be prolonged.

*

WHILE FIGHTING IN CHINA SEEMS TO HAVE subsided to some extent, difficulty is being encountered in making the painfully negotiated truce agreements effective. Last week arrangements were made to send eight truce-observance teams to Manchuria but, when the first one arrived at Harbin, General Lin, the Communist commander there, barred it from Communist territory and compelled its return. The Communist attitude, apparently, is that no entry of observers or correspondents can be permitted until an over-all settlement has been reached. Negotiations to this end, however, have been making slow progress. Flushed with its recent successes in Manchuria, the Kuominting is not only demanding additional territory in the northeastern provinces but asking that the Communists yield a number of strongholds in North China and the Shantung coast. While General Marshall's skill in resolving past difficulties would seem to promise that a new basis for compromise can be found, recent Communist criticism of American aid to the Kuomintang is a warning that he can be helpful only if the United States maintains strict impartiality. It cannot be denied that lend-lease equipment and American planes and ships have been used to

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aid the Kuomintang against the Communists. A large part of the responsibility for this rests with former Ambassador Hurley, whose policies have been officially repudiated. But American ships have continued to ferry Kuomintang troops into the troubled areas of Manchuria, and American troops have apparently cooperated closely with the Kuomintang in Tsingtao and other points threatened by the Communists. These past sins may be atoned for if Congress quickly passes the bill authorizing American aid in modernizing the Chinese army. For the plan calls for training the Communist as well as the Kuomintang divisions in the new forces and for a general demobilization of China's huge armies, a step which would permanently remove the threat of civil war.

*

REPORTS THAT THE SELLERS' MARKET HAS reached its peak and that a buyers' strike is gathering force should, we feel, be viewed with some skepticism. It may be true that "sucker money" is a little less in evidence: night-club receipts are said to have slumped, smaller sums are being ventured on the horses, and Mike Jacobs overreached himself in pricing seats for the Louis-Conn fight. The competition to obtain certain kinds of merchandise now coming on to the market in quantity—cheap radios are an example—has also subsided. But on the whole buyers seem as eager, and as frequently disappointed, as ever. It was the *Wall Street Journal*, as far as we can ascertain, that started all the talk with a survey of department stores in eleven key cities published on June 3. On examination, the evidence it brought forward appears pretty unimpressive when set against statistics of retail sales—39 per cent above a year ago, according to *Business Week*. The survey made a useful text for a *Wall Street Journal* editorial, the gist of which was that the consumer could take care of himself all right if only the government would stop fussing about his welfare and drop all that OPA nonsense. It is this suggestion that buyers' resistance will be sufficient to prevent prices from getting out of hand if ceilings are abolished that makes us smell a rat in stories of a pending buyers' strike. Actually, there is much stronger proof of a continuing *sellers'* strike; and why not when producers and sellers of goods know that after July 1 the OPA is likely to be dead or seriously crippled. If their hopes are fulfilled, we shall then see prices jumping and probably a scramble by consumers in anticipation of further jumps. Only later, as the inventories begin to swell, will buyers rebel in a way likely to deflate not merely business greed but our whole economy.

*

SENATE-HOUSE CONFEREES HAVE AT LAST reached a compromise by which the Selective Service law will be extended for nine months from July 1, with eighteen-year-olds exempted from draft calls. The Senate had voted to revert to the induction of teen-agers, at

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present suspended, while the House wished to exempt them altogether and provide a moratorium on all inductions until October 1. This would have meant gambling on voluntary enlistments to keep up the minimum strength of the occupation forces in Germany and Japan, or holding in service men now due for discharge. Even without the moratorium the House bill would have limited the draft to those men between twenty and thirty who had been previously exempted for reasons other than ill health, which would have produced a very thin stream of recruits. But it is an election year and the Representatives were under strong pressure from parents who wanted to protect their young sons from being exposed to the life of drinking, immorality, and black-marketeering, which our occupation troops, according to reports, are leading. In so far as the army has done less than it might to correct these conditions, it has itself to blame for the balking of its recruitment plans. But of course it might argue that the opportunities for hell-raising in foreign parts help to attract volunteers. Added to the new pay scale on which the Senate-House conferees agreed—$75 a month for privates—the much-advertised "pleasures" of occupation may prove a powerful inducement to men of a certain type. Whether the employment of such men will assist the avowed aims of our occupations or add to American prestige abroad is another matter, to which neither the army nor Congress has given the thought it deserves.

*

IF ANY OF YOU READERS ARE THE STUFFY sort who consider a prize fight no proper concern of America's Leading Liberal Weekly, you had better skip to the next editorial because in this one we intend to pass a few pertinent remarks about the Louis-Conn fracas up at Yankee Stadium last week. Being Louis fans from way back, and not having been among the unfortunates who shelled out an average of $40 apiece to witness a rather tepid exhibition of the manly art, we find ourselves in a position to express unqualified delight over the outcome. If ever there was a champion in any field of sport who deserved to retire undefeated, that one is Joe Louis. He not only has a pile-driving right that few boxers have ever equaled; he also has a record of sportsmanship that few professional athletes of any kind have ever equaled. The respect he has earned with his fists and the simple dignity with which he has carried it have done as much as anything in recent years to chip down a little further the walls of race prejudice. Probably the majority of the fans at Yankee Stadium were pulling for Billy Conn, the under-dog, the kid from Pittsburgh's East Liberty district who was shooting for the moon; but the ovation that same crowd gave Louis rang with sincerity, not partisanship. The line about Joe's being a credit to his race has become a tattered and patronizing cliché during his nine years as champion, but Jimmy Cannon, New York *Post* sports columnist, has switched a fresh meaning into it. "Louis is accepted as a symbol of decency in sport," Cannon wrote on the eve of the fight, "When I talked to him today I feel as I always do. That he is a credit to his race. Naturally, I mean the human race."

The Soviet Dilemma

THE Gromyko proposal for atomic control is a bold attempt to escape the dilemma faced by a great power harboring a permanent—and probably increasing—suspicion of the designs of the Western nations. For the Soviet Union is unable to decide whether to place its trust in its own resources, its vast land areas, its great industrial potential, its scientific genius, its great army, its vassal states, or to rely upon the increasing authority of an international organization planned so as to give the maximum security to its member nations.

In terms of political and military strategy the atomic bomb is the one agent that places Russia temporarily at a disadvantage as over against the Western powers. It is not that the Russians have any immediate fears that it would be used in a preventive war; American opinion would not permit such action. It is rather that as long as American monopoly of the bomb exists, as long as bombs are being manufactured and atomic research is advancing, Russian cannot rely for its security upon its own resources. We should feel the same way if the positions were reversed and probably insist, as Gromyko insists, that a cessation of bomb manufacture and the destruction of existing bombs follow soon after an international agreement is reached barring their use in war. If, as the Baruch report is generaly interpreted to mean, we keep right on making bombs until we are convinced the U. N. inspection system and controls are fully operative, then we are in effect, as Walter Lippmann and the *Daily Worker* have pointed out, holding a veto club over the Atomic Energy Commission to get *our* plan adopted.

Gromyko is therefore standing squarely in the Litvinov tradition when he insists that if we mean what we say about peace and security, we had better get rid of the weapons that will blast us sky-high, and definitely outlaw their use in any future war. But he quickly retires to what has become the fixed isolationist position of the Soviets when he goes on to discuss methods to insure that the treaty be observed. Whereas Litvinov came out embarrassingly for an air-tight, hole-proof collective-security system, Gromyko would rely upon national legislation of the contracting states to ban the manufacture and use of atomic weapons. The substitute for a supreme atomic authority as demanded in the Baruch proposal, with powers to control all atomic-energy development, carry out any inspection deemed necessary, conduct surveys to locate the existing supplies of uranium and thorium, and apply sanctions against a violation, would

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apparently be two subcommittees whose recommendations would be subject to the usual veto. While the Russian proposal was probably prepared with no reference to the American, its specific insistence that "efforts to undermine the unanimity of the members of the Security Council are incompatible with the interests of the United Nations" is a direct answer to Baruch's insistence that the veto power must not apply in this field.

On this point it is fair to ask the U. S. S. R. to look at the international scene from the standpoint of the American Congress. If the United States is to divest itself of the monopoly of what today is a winning weapon and pass over the secret of its manufacture to an international body, it has a right and an obligation to insist that the international body in question be given sufficient authority to guarantee the security of the United States and all nations against possible aggression by any power which may—and in time is likely to—develop atomic weapons if left to its own devices. *In the modern world national armaments and national sovereignty give no guaranty of security—period.* It will be hard enough to persuade a Congress busily upping military appropriations, voting hundreds of millions for atomic research, and substituting military for civilian control of atomic development to pass over all our knowhow to a qualified international body. It will be impossible if such a body possesses only nominal powers.

We have a right to ask that Russia recognize this fact, in the interests of world security, in the interests of Russia's own security. The two reports provide the basis for a satisfactory and workable scheme of atomic-energy control which will not only insure us against devastating war but which, to quote the Soviet proposal, will render possible the release of atomic energy for peaceful uses "for the improvement of the conditions of life of the peoples of the whole world, the raising of their standard of welfare, and the further progress of human culture." The main obstacle to this consummation is isolationist nationalism, whether of American or Soviet variety.

Hunger Still Undefeated

SCRAPING the bottom of the grain bins, we have just managed to fulfil our export obligations in the crop year ending June 30. By July 10, the Department of Agriculture reports, the whole of the 5,500,000 tons of wheat promised during the first six months of 1946 will have been cleared for shipment. However, self-congratulations on this success should be tempered by consideration of the means through which it was achieved—means costly both in money and in economic disruption.

Nine months of the crop year had almost gone when Washington awoke to the fact that wheat, which should have been reserved for human consumption, was disappearing at a phenomenal rate into the feed troughs. An American livestock population of record magnitude was competing with hungry Europe and Asia, thanks partly to the premature ending of meat rationing and partly to the fact that the ratio between grain and meat ceilings had been so fixed that there was every inducement to farmers to turn wheat into meat. The crisis was met by drastic set-aside orders, which disrupted distribution of grain products, and by the offer of a high premium to entice wheat from storage. These measures brought out the necessary grain, but they disgruntled those farmers who had heeded earlier appeals to sell and encouraged growers to hold on to the new crop in the hope of a higher price. Moreover, they involved a sharp reduction in the carry-over, which, it is estimated, will be no more than 80,000,000 bushels on June 30; 150,000,000 is generally regarded as the minimum required to keep the pipe lines from farm to kitchen filled.

Much of the dislocation, evidence of which is now provided in bread queues, might have been avoided if rationing and other controls had not been dropped so precipitously last fall and if a carefully planned program for allocation of supplies had been adopted. It is claimed, of course, that the extent of foreign need was not then foreseen, but while it is true that droughts in important producing areas aggravated the situation, the facts available nine months ago should have made it plain that near famine conditions were inevitable.

However, our object now is not to indulge in recriminations but to combat suggestions that the food crisis is over with the advent of the new harvest. It will be several months yet before it is known to what extent Europe will be self-supporting in 1946-47. Crop reports from some areas are encouraging, but in others weather conditions have been very unfavorable. And almost everywhere lack of fertilizer is producing subnormal yields. There seems little hope that the situation in India, where rations have fallen below 1,000 calories a day, will improve perceptibly for another year.

In this country another bumper crop, which may fall little short of last year's record, is being reaped. The Department of Agriculture, however, points out that the total supply will be less owing to the reduction in carry-over, and declares that not more than 250,000,000 bushels will be available for foreign countries compared with actual exports in 1945-46 of 400,000,000. The department also estimates world wheat needs at practically the same amount as in the year just ending. It is clear, therefore, that unless other exporting nations can increase their shipments, hunger will be intensified rather than diminished next winter.

Even the reduced export program forecast is threatened by the provisions in the OPA bill removing price ceilings on meat, eggs, and dairy products. It is generally agreed that if the bill becomes law, prices of these commodities will rise steeply, thus inducing a further diversion of grain to animal feeding. Alarmed by the possi-

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bility, the State Department has joined with Mr. Bowles in urging Congress to remove this provision from the bill. Assistant Secretary of State Clayton even telephoned Herbert Hoover in Rio de Janeiro seeking his support. Evidently he thought he had secured it, but Mr. Hoover, on returning to this country, denied he had talked to anyone about the OPA bill. "In any event," he added piously, "the problems I have to deal with must not be mixed up with legislative quarrels." But by not speaking out against this iniquitous bill the ex-President is making certain that these problems will be still harder to solve. Like the majority of Congress, the "Great Humanitarian" appears to be playing politics with the standard of living of the American people and the empty stomachs of the world at large.

Progress in Paris

Paris, June 24

ALTHOUGH the crucial issue of Trieste was again put off, the first week of the second conference of the Foreign Ministers ended yesterday in a lighter atmosphere. Certain successes had been obtained in the six days of discussion, among them the agreement on the evacuation of Italy by the British and Americans and of Bulgaria by the Russians ninety days after the signature of the peace treaties. But it was especially the agreement reached on Thursday over the Italian colonies which put an end to the deadlock in which the Foreign Ministers had found themselves since May. It was only an agreement on postponement, and yet the mere fact that the four were ready to accept the separation of colonial problems from the main body of the treaty brightened the chances of further understanding.

Of course the Italians do not like it; the first reaction of the Rome press is very bitter, with headlines like this: "Fascism Gave Us a Pact of Steel; the Four Give Us a Steel Noose." But a cooler analysis will show them that it is not such a terrible blow. Colonies are very often more a question of prestige than of national advantage, and Italians should not forget that before the war their empire cost them a deficit of 250,000,000 lire. The decision adopted in Paris even leaves open, at least in theory, the possibility that if after one year the entire affair is turned over to the U. N. the Italians might administer their former colonies under U. N. surveillance.

On the question of reparations it was easy to perceive a more favorable disposition toward Italy on the part of the Russians. In itself, the $300,000,000 Russia is asking for Greece, Yugoslavia, Abyssinia, and itself is not a fantastic figure. But Italy is very hard-pressed, and its industries have suffered heavily from a war waged for twenty months on Italian soil. The Russians are now taking these circumstances into consideration. The proclamation of the republic has given them a good opportunity to show a greater generosity. Indeed, as some London papers have noted ironically, the Moscow press has begun to present the Soviet delegation as Italy's "defender" against the "excessive and enslaving" demands made on it by Britain and America and also as a champion of Italy's sovereignty and feeling of national self-esteem. But that only proves Russian diplomacy more agile than, let us say, British and American diplomacy in Spain.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that last month in his statement to the Soviet press Molotov said that Italy and the Soviet Union, if they were left to themselves, could easily settle the reparations question. The proclamation of the republic might mark the moment for a commercial rapprochement—Russia providing Italy with coal, wheat, and oil and in return placing big orders with Italian industry.

But while the questions of colonies and reparations are on the way to settlement, there remains Trieste. It is a problem full of political implications going far beyond the well-known desire of the Russians to give satisfaction to the Yugoslav government of Tito and the Anglo-French-American desire to fix an ethnic line that will not be unfair to the Italians. Inside Trieste itself, leaving aside all the conflicting big-power interests, there is enough uranium accumulated by years of Italian-Yugoslav rivalry to blow up any conference.

The only solution lies in the direction of internationalizing not only the port and city of Trieste but a still larger area, a thought that has been in the minds of the Foreign Ministers during the last week. Naturally, this solution would satisfy neither Italians nor Yugoslavs, but it would neutralize much explosive material and remove from the international scene one of the most troublesome spots. Should Trieste simply be handed over to the Italians, as originally the British and American delegations wanted, the temptation for the Yugoslavs to take the city by force as soon as the British and American troops left Italy could become irresistible—a new coup like D'Annunzio's in Fiume, but with much graver consequences.

Bidault's plan provides for, first, internationalization of port, town, and immediate neighborhood; second, a ten-year term for the international regime; third, at the end of this period a plebiscite among the local population, on the basis of which the four powers would decide whether Trieste was to go to Italy or Yugoslavia. The question of the exact regime for the international zone of Trieste would be left to the deputies with instructions to work out details before the Peace Conference opens.

The decision to meet twice daily this week justifies the hope that by Friday the five treaties will be acceptable to the Foreign Ministers and that the Peace Conference may be summoned for next month. This optimism was reflected in the words with which Secretary Byrnes last Saturday pressed for the calling of the conference. He said that the council had made progress and an agreement was closer. Among the Russians I found the same spirit of confidence.

A. DEL V.

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Counter-Attack in Washington

BY TRIS COFFIN

Commentator for the Columbia Broadcasting Company

Washington, June 21

FOR days now both sides have been drawing up their heavy guns for the decisive battle on price control. Last-minute efforts to obtain an armistice have failed. The enemies of price control have dug in behind the bills passed by both the Senate and House. They are in daily communication with the fourteen men locked up in the Capitol to work out a bill. Of these fourteen committee members only four are aggressively and defiantly against weakening amendments. They are Senators Wagner and Downey and Representatives Spence and Barry.

Senator Barkley, the chairman, has one major concern—to produce a compromise bill that will not be savagely clawed by either side. He wants to get Congress off the hot seat of controversy by sending to the White House a bill that eliminates the most obviously crippling amendments. Barkley has earnestly advised President Truman not to use his veto power but to accept what comes out of the conference committee as the best possible solution.

Senator Taft leads a majority of committee members who want to keep just enough controls to avoid a rapid price zoom and the loud howls from the public that would surely follow.

Chester Bowles, the Economic Stabilization Director, has been lining up his forces for a counter-attack with boyish enthusiasm. His strategy has been to keep solid, heavy pressure on Congress and the White House. To this end he first rounded up every bit of support in Washington. The State Department was pulled in, and Acting Secretary Acheson told reporters that Senate amendments might destroy the relief-feeding program. Assistant Secretary Clayton, a Southerner with a lot of influence on Capitol Hill, was set to work. With Acheson he hammered at the amendment removing ceilings on meat, livestock, poultry, and dairy products and at the one diverting grain earmarked for world famine relief to dairy cattle and poultry in this country. The Department of Agriculture backed up Acheson and Clayton with statistics. Secretary of Commerce Wallace said there would be a "rocky future" for American business if "we let down our guard against inflation." Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach followed with: "Labor is entitled to assurance that the value of its earnings will not be reduced by continuous rises in the cost of food, rents, and clothing." W. W. Wirtz, chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board, said it would be necessary to change the government's four-months-old wage policy before the end of July if price controls were abolished.

All these statements were intended as pressure not only on the conference committee but on President Truman as well. For the second point of the Bowles strategy was to get the White House to veto any weak price-control bill with a strong message, and force Congress into passing a joint resolution extending the existing law for several months.

The third step in the save-price-control campaign was to throw sops to the enemy by approving numerous price increases and de-control regulations. The OPA press room today is filled with mimeographed sheets of increases on everything from frozen sheep glands to high-chairs. These concessions also dramatize the danger of inflation by showing housewives how quickly prices can go up.

Bowles next sought to work out an agreement with the big union chiefs that there would be no strikes if the price line were held. The labor men were frankly skeptical of Bowles's success but met with him for the moral effect.

With Congress showing signs of closing some of the larger gaps in the anti-inflation line, Bowles held a press conference last Thursday. He used bold words: "The greatest danger at the moment lies in the fact that public attention has been so distracted by the obviously bad amendments that equally dangerous ones may go unnoticed. . . . These are booby-trap amendments. They look innocent enough, even desirable, unless they are studied closely. But in each case they would have but one clear result—to assure substantial and unnecessary increases in the prices Americans will have to pay after July 1." He read the riot act in specific detail on all the crippling amendments. He advocated a "firm and unequivocal veto by the President." As a parting shot in the printed statement, he said, "The road to inflation has always been paved with compromises. . . . In this case the cost of every compromise would come out of the savings and earnings of the 140,000,000 Americans."

In an easy flow of questions and answers Bowles outlined his philosophy. He said with a wistful smile, "The repercussions to a big rise in the cost of living would be dangerous. There would be a big rift in the country. Everyone would be searching for goats to blame. All this would be piled on top of all our other problems. We need our unity too badly now to risk the effects of inflation. I somehow think the end of price control would set us back more emotionally and politically than econom-

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ically. That's why I'm so terrifically concerned about this." Would he resign? The answer, pleasantly iffy, made it pretty clear he would if Congress knocked out the legislative props from economic controls. They were almost the last bulwark against a rising cost of living.

President Truman and his advisers, John Snyder and John Steelman, make no secret of their irritation with Bowles. They share the small-town hope that if you just let things alone, everything will come out all right. Chester Bowles does not believe in letting things alone.

The Western Catholic Bloc

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, June 15

ON ASCENSION DAY Pope Pius XII, casting aside all pretense of neutrality, entered the battle against a Socialist Europe. I read every word of his memorable address; it is without doubt one of the most important documents of recent years. Although *The Nation* had anticipated that the Vatican would play a decisive role in preventing a people's peace —readers will recall with what insistence we returned to this subject time after time in the Political War Section—it was hard to believe that its intervention would come so quickly and so openly. The task called for a personality of unusual strength. After all, for several years the Vatican had had good reason to stay prudently in the background. Its moral authority was at low ebb. Its war record had been pitiful. It had followed the triumphal chariot of fascism until the German armies were stopped in Russia and the Anglo-Saxon democracies had mobilized the tremendous resources of their industrial power, which were later to assure the success of the European invasion. Many sincere Catholics were heartbroken by a capitulation of the Holy See which sealed the Pope's lips at the very moment when the duty of every spiritual leader was to condemn the Nazi atrocities and to denounce the Antichrist. Pope Pius had adopted an attitude of restraint contradicted only by an occasional indiscretion such as his famous Christmas message of 1944, in which he expressed "praise and gratitude for the generosity of the head of the state, the government, and the people of Spain," and for Rumania, Slovakia, and Hungary, all puppet governments in the service of Hitler.

On the whole, these were years in which the Pope said as little as possible. Then, three days before the French and Italian elections, he emerged from his long silence, speaking out in bold, clear tones. Too much was at stake: an absolute Socialist-Communist majority in France and a victory for the republic in Italy might ruin reaction's chances of a come-back. Encouraged by the failure of the Foreign Ministers' conference in Paris, by Churchill's recent speeches, by the growing wave of anti-Russian feeling in the United States, Pius XII assumed command of all the reactionary forces which some people naively believed had gone down to everlasting defeat on V-E Day.

Thus the Catholic church has returned to the political struggle with the same aggressiveness it displayed in the last century—in 1830, 1848, and 1871, when the cause of the Pope-King fused with the cause of the other sovereigns of Europe who saw their thrones endangered. At the first sign of real estrangement between the West and the East the Vatican has resuscitated the idea of a Western Catholic bloc. When it was first discussed during the war, the necessity of keeping the Russian armies in the fight made the chancelleries adopt a somewhat indifferent attitude toward the suggestion of a Catholic combination that would have included the France of Pétain or Giraud (the latter's election as a deputy on the P. R. L. ticket makes it clear that there would have been little difference between the two), Franco Spain, Belgium, Italy, and the more fascist-minded republics of Latin America. Now, at least for the time being, the plan has been limited to Europe. But this in no way limits the ambitious ultimate goal, as certain French Catholic publications reveal: an article in *Témoignage Chrétien* declares that with its success in the elections the M. R. P. "takes its place in a general movement that affects all of Europe" and heralds the victory of "total Catholicism."

At the moment of liberation the Vatican believed that Europe was lost. A sweeping reorientation of its policy toward the Western Hemisphere, toward the thirty million Catholics of the United States and Canada and the millions more in the lands south from Mexico to Patagonia, culminated in the creation of "the American cardinals" with Francis Spellman at their head. But as relations between the Anglo-Saxons and the Russians worsened, and the British Labor government, whose rise to power had increased the panic in Rome, continued the Tory policy of backing the monarchy in Italy and Greece, and showed itself to be in no hurry to get rid of Franco, the Holy See soon became convinced that its fears were groundless. Europe could still be saved by building a West Wall against Russian infiltration, like the old wall of Pilsudski's Poland but this time

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Courtesy *Franc-Tireur* (Paris)

Toward Anschluss

more solidly constructed and buttressed by two such strong powers as Great Britain and the United States.

The important thing was not to make any tactical mistakes at the outset. The left was too powerful to be provoked by Vatican support of openly fascist political formations; the aspirations of the masses for greater social equality and economic democracy would have to be taken into consideration. Obviously neither the P. R. L. in France nor the *Qualunquisti* in Italy could be used for the first assault; their methods and big-business ties were too reminiscent of the old fascist organizations. What the church needed was a more heterogeneous party, one calculated to confuse the people, having two wings that could foray both on the left and the right and, above all, draw votes away from the Marxist parties—in short, an organization that would sound progressive without being progressive, or at least not dangerously so. The name of the Christian Democrats in Italy was ideal; and the popular ring of the M. R. P., the Mouvement Républicain Populaire, also had its advantages.

The error of the French Gallup poll, which predicted an increase in the vote of the Parti Républicain de la Liberté at the expense of the M. R. P., stemmed from its failure to take into account the fact that a month earlier the Vatican had come out in favor of the M. R. P. Until this counter-order arrived from Rome, the majority of the French hierarchy were warmly sympathetic toward the P. R. L. With rare exceptions of clerical resistants, the bishops had all been on the side of Vichy. For Monseigneur Gerbeau, bishop of Nîmes, Pétain had been "the man of Providence"; for Monseigneur Delais, bishop of Marseille, "the star of Noël"; for His Eminence Archbishop Gerlier of Lyon, "the symbol of France"; for Monseigneur Rastouil, bishop of Limoges, "the father of all the French." The P. R. L. not only attracted these Vichyite bishops but gathered around it the sworn enemies of all progressive legislation. The M. R. P., on the other hand, had in its ranks people who sincerely backed the nationalization of the banks, who believed themselves on the side of the common man, Catholics for whom the history of the church was not that of the conquest of temporal power but, to use Mauriac's phrase, "the history of grace in the world."

The Christian Democratic Party in Italy and the M. R. P. in France, which together with their brother parties in Belgium and Holland form the Western Catholic bloc—into which Franco's Spain and Salazar's Portugal will be incorporated at the proper time—have gone to the polls with invariable success in a strange costume, half-conservative, half-progressive. To counteract the hateful memory of the fascist bishops and win the vaguely democratic masses they have brought forward the names of respected leaders of the Christian Democratic school—Maritain, Don Sturzo, Blondel, Dawson—and resurrected the teachings of Leo XIII, adapting them to the political temperature of liberated Europe. All the old liberal pronouncements of the church have been served up in a *plat du jour* to neutralize the unpleasant taste of Pius XII's Christmas message cited above. The 1931 Encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno," is a favorite text; "The problem," comments *Témoignage Chrétien*, "is to translate into deeds the lesson of 'Quadragesimo Anno,' which has for too long been neglected." But even in this progressive encyclical, which the promoters of the Western Catholic bloc are putting to use today, we find the statement: "One cannot at the same time be a good Catholic and a true Socialist"—a persuasive argument by which to take votes from the Socialists and Communists.

But it will not be a walk-over for the Vatican. In France a sharp fight between the church and the left is already shaping up over the question of education. As I pointed out in an earlier article, the left is ready to compromise on certain constitutional issues; indeed, given the results of the elections, the Socialists and Communists will have to compromise. But they cannot go so far as to permit the priests to regain their control in schools. Albert Bayet states the issue very succinctly in *Franc-Tireur:*

> Tripartism or quadripartism? Gouin or Gay? Auriol or Schumann? To these questions I reply, "I do not know." But if you pose the question, "Secularism or clericalism?" then my answer is, "Secularism." To compromise on secularism would be a betrayal.

But we need not go so far left for answers. In *La Dépêche* Edouard Herriot announces that he will oppose any attempt of the priests to take possession of the schools, and he speaks of the M. R. P. as a movement which "the church directs or keeps under surveillance." Here Herriot is in the Republican tradition of France. A Clemenceau could dislike the Socialists intensely, and were he alive today he would surely hate the Communists, but he hated still more the thought of the church ruling the country.

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Though the left and the Christian Democrats will form the coalition governments of the immediate future in Western Europe, they must finally come into conflict over the policy of socialization. World capitalism is on the march; utilizing as its instrument the Christian parties, it hopes to become once more the master of Europe. Pius XI might deplore the fact that the church had lost the working class by passing over to the side of the rich. But Pius XII knows all too well that at a given moment the rich faction of the M. R. P. will reduce the pro-Socialist French Catholics of *Temps Présent* and *Esprit* to a minority; and the present Pope has shown clearly that he does not enjoy being on the losing side.

As time passes, the Western Catholic bloc will reveal its true character. For the moment, however, it will continue to speak of democracy and the Four Freedoms, leaving Cardinal Mindszenthy to preach as a pure fascist in defense of Hungary's war-time rulers and the bishops of Slovakia to sabotage the authority of Eduard Benes by trying to force the acquittal of Tiso. In Eastern Europe, where it is a question of fighting the Russians on their own ground, direct action is justified. But not in the West. The Christian Democrats in Italy must continue to display the emblem of the Cross and the slogan *Libertas,* which call to mind the coat-of-arms of Bologna and other cities and give a liberal flavor. The M. R. P. in France must continue under the leadership of a Maurice Schumann and a Georges Bidault, who during the Spanish war were for the Republic. The Catholic Party in Holland must keep its left wing, which rejects, on political as well as religious grounds, an alliance with the Calvinists or with the extremely reactionary Conservatives. The Christian Socialists in Belgium must continue to give the appearance of supporting higher standards for workers. It is this deceptive double policy underlying its entire present strategy which makes the Western Catholic bloc so dangerous.

But although the Catholic parties of France and Italy hold first place today, the combined votes of the Socialists and Communists still outnumber theirs by many millions. *The Nation's* earlier prognosis that Europe was going left remains valid. It is precisely for that reason that the church is trying to stop the historical process. The Vatican will succeed only if the left repeats its blunder of pre-war days by allowing internal divisions to sap its strength in the face of the enemy.

By its entrance into politics the church invites treatment as a belligerent. It cannot expect to discredit the counter-action of the other political forces by raising the cry of "anti-clericalism"; the old trick of denouncing as reds and agents of Moscow those who are not disposed to see the Vatican rule world politics no longer fools anyone. The last President of the Spanish Republic, Manuel Azaña, was certainly no red. But when Monsignor Tedeschi, the papal nuncio in Madrid, came to him one day before the Spanish war broke out to protest against an attack on a church, Azaña, who considered that church a jewel of Spanish architecture but who knew that from its bell-tower snipers had fired on a Republican demonstration, answered: "Your Eminence, surely you did not hope that in a political battle the teaching of Christ would prevail, that smitten on the one cheek we would turn the other. If the church does not wish to be hurt in the fight, it has only to stay out of it."

What Are Stassen's Chances?

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

Chief political writer for the Chicago Sun

NEBRASKA Republicans passed some powerful ammunition to shock troops of the G. O. P. Old Guard. By giving Governor Dwight Griswold a thumping defeat in the state primaries they seriously damaged the Presidential aspirations of Harold E. Stassen. And any setback for Stassen will be used to good advantage by the Republican right-wingers, who are determined that Minnesota's three-time former governor shall not get the nomination in 1948.

The stop-Stassen movement was well under way within the party long before the Nebraska primaries, in which Stassen elected to support Griswold actively against the arch-isolationist Hugh Butler. The forces that fought the late Wendell Willkie's 1944 bid for renomination have rallied again to turn back Harold Stassen. Why are they so bitterly opposed to him? Can they succeed in stopping him? The answers to those questions are wrapped up in the personality and career of the man from Minnesota.

FARM BOY TO GOVERNOR

Harold Stassen is a country boy. He was raised on a small truck farm in Dakota County, Minnesota, owned by his parents. His ancestry is a mixture of Norse, Czech, and German. William Stassen, his father, rated a substantial farmer by his neighbors, had dabbled in politics, having served as mayor of West St. Paul and as a member of the district school board.

Young Harold worked his way through the University of Minnesota by clerking in a grocery store, operating an adding machine, greasing pans in a bakery, and,

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finally, working as a Pullman conductor on the St. Paul-Chicago run of the Milwaukee Railroad. He graduated from law school in 1929, resisted the blandishments of Farmer-Labor Party chieftains who sought to enrol him in that ascendant movement, and went back to Dakota County to practice law. Within a year he had been elected county attorney on the Republican ticket, and he held that office through two four-year terms.

Those eight years were a time of great political turmoil in Minnesota, an era of agrarian revolt and labor unrest resulting from the unemployment of the early '30's. Elmer Benson, now a director of the National Citizens' P. A. C., had succeeded to the governorship after the death of the brilliant but sometimes erratic Floyd Olson. The teamsters' strike ran its violent course under the leadership of the Dunn brothers. The state administration, especially during Benson's regime, often showed what conservatives regarded as undue partiality toward labor.

A ROVING CENTRIST

Surveying this political scene, Stassen found himself equally at odds with the frequently extreme positions of the Farmer-Laborites and of the reactionary forces in control of Minnesota's Republican Party. He chose, therefore, to go down the center, and he has, in the main, stuck to that path ever since. A recurring phrase in his speeches is "the disruptive left and the reactionary right"—both of which he condemns with great vigor. Critics maintain that when Stassen became a candidate for governor in 1938 on this middle-of-the-road platform, he was merely opportunistic; that he had the political astuteness to realize that the voters had wearied of one extreme but were not ready to turn to another. Some make the same accusation in his present campaign.

Events proved that the course he chose was sound political strategy in Minnesota in 1938. It carried Harold Stassen into the governor's chair and kept him there until he left to become an officer in the navy in 1943. It may be equally sound strategy in 1948.

But to charge Stassen with opportunism is to challenge his sincerity; and it is hard to make a case against his sincerity when one considers his early and vigorous espousal of internationalism in the days when the Middle West, Minnesota included, was rampant in its isolationism. Such a cause was not one for an opportunist politician, riding one wave out and another in. Senators Vandenberg, Brooks, Nye, Shipstead, and others, none of whom can be considered unversed in the stratagems of politics, all stuck to isolationism as the safest course for a Midwestern politician to pursue in those days. Stassen chose to advocate international cooperation at the time of that doctrine's greatest unpopularity.

This writer, for one, is absolutely convinced that Stassen was sincere in his internationalism and that he is just as sincere in his other positions. There are some who disagree. But after fifteen years of following the doings of Midwestern politicians I am convinced that Harold Stassen is a sincere centrist: he believes that a middle course, or an area of agreement, can be found in most economic and social conflicts. He does not hew to any particular line. But if he is to be termed a centrist, it would be best to qualify the classification and call him a roving centrist.

His record as Governor of Minnesota is evidence of his middle-ground position. A case in point is Minnesota's Labor Relations Act, generally regarded as Stassen's own, with its "cooling-off" periods and its fact-finding features. The act does not go to the extreme of compulsory arbitration; neither does it allow industrial strife to proceed in a vacuum. It does not take away the right to strike, but it delays the exercise of that right while an attempt is made to determine the causes of the dispute and effect remedies.

Stassen has demonstrated undeniably that he is a capable executive and a competent politician. These two qualities certainly do not alienate the G. O. P. right wing. The Old Guard might even, as a matter of desperate expediency, accept his middle-of-the-road philosophy. There are other reasons for the determined opposition to Stassen.

For one thing, of course, there are conflicting ambitions. Men like Taft and Bricker, as well as almost any other Presidential possibility, would hamstring Stassen cheerfully at any moment—as, indeed, they would each other—simply because he is a threat to their own ambitions. Such a lack of sympathy with those who get in the way, incidentally, is by no means confined to the Republican right wing; it is discernible in liberal circles too. A second and more important consideration is that

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the nationalist element in the party—a considerable element which includes Hugh Butler, whom Stassen failed to unseat in the primaries—is dead set against him.

Of prime importance, however, is the fact that Stassen, both as governor and since his return from the navy, has demonstrated an independence and an aloofness from the ruling oligarchy in the party that not only infuriates the oligarchs but makes them distrust him deeply. He is not their man. They fear that if he becomes President, he will do his own thinking. They fear that he would lead the party, not be led by it, and they don't like the direction in which he would steer—toward something more than lip service in the cause of world government and a progressive domestic program.

WILLKIE'S MANTLE, BUT HIS OWN TECHNIQUE

Will Taft and his cohorts succeed in blocking Stassen as they succeeded against Willkie two years ago? It is a hard question to answer. The odds of course are with them; the odds are always with the field against one horse. But the outcome is far from certain.

The Republican conservative element has sought, not without some measure of success, to put across the idea that Stassen is merely a 1948 edition of Willkie. This might be perfectly good tactics except for two things. First, Mr. Willkie was not altogether without followers in the G. O. P. ranks; so that while it may frighten some away from Stassen it also attracts others to him. And, second, the conservatives, in following the "Stassen is a new Willkie" strategy, are overlooking the fact that they alone did not defeat Willkie in his 1944 effort. He largely defeated himself, as anyone who followed Willkie in that campaign knows (I traveled with him extensively). The off-the-record speeches that he made in St. Louis and Milwaukee were bold, even magnificent. But they were not good politics. Although he was seeking delegates, Willkie virtually told the men who had a great deal to say about whether or not he would get the delegates that he wanted no part of them or their works. They took him at his word.

Stassen knows his way around in politics and probably will make no such error. He knows what Willkie so frequently seemed to forget, that the nomination goes to the candidate who obtains a majority of the delegates. He will never unnecessarily offend organization Republicans and will never attack them. He seeks to convert them. Failing in that, he attempts to force his acceptance on the organization by creating pro-Stassen sentiment among the rank and file—as witness his creation of the Republican forums and his constant public appearances and speeches. He may have inherited Willkie's mantle, but he has his own political technique. The Taft crowd, if they are going to stop Stassen, will have to come up with something better than labeling Stassen another Willkie and sitting back and waiting for him to make Willkie's mistakes. He is most unlikely to do so.

It should not be forgotten that one of Willkie's biggest 1944 liabilities was his 1940 defeat. Defeated candidates seldom get a second chance, and that stigma will attach not to Stassen but to one of his chief opponents, Governor Dewey, who also has to get over a reelection hurdle in New York this fall. Nor does Stassen possess Willkie's unhappy penchant for making unnecessary political enemies. Willkie took risks recklessly and, judging by his Wisconsin fiasco, without counting the cost. Stassen has a high political courage, too, but the risks that he takes are calculated ones.

All in all, Stassen's advanced internationalism may be a more determining factor in the decision of the 1948 convention than all the efforts of the Taft clique. If the American people slide back into a narrow isolationism—and there is some indication of such a tendency—his Presidential stock will not be very high. But the reverse also holds true: it is equally possible that the course of world events may swing the country toward his way of thinking and lessen the chances of men like Bricker and Dewey, whose approach to international affairs has been, to say the least, timorous.

Some politicians, primarily those who habitually duck issues and avoid commitments, contend that Stassen has talked too much; they say that by getting into the race so early he has made his own elimination inevitable. Such reasoning is predicated on the assumption that national political conventions prefer a pig in a poke as a candidate to one who has opinions and convictions.

Stassen has made his views known quite vigorously, and he made those views one of the stakes in the Nebraska primary. He asked that Griswold be nominated so that a Senate nucleus might be formed to pave the way for liberal control of the Republican Party in 1948. The sound beating that Griswold took was the strongest check yet received by Stassen's campaign. It was not a fatal one, however, as was Willkie's defeat in Wisconsin in 1944. On July 8 he will have a second chance, this time in his home state of Minnesota. He is actively supporting Governor Edward J. Thye in his battle to retire the veteran Senator Henrik Shipstead, and the issues in that contest are very similar to those in Nebraska's. He would be hard put to survive a second such defeat.

Stassen, politically adroit, indefatigable, and neither so far left nor so far right as to antagonize the middle classes, may be stopped by fast-changing events in a chaotic world. He may be stopped by the hold of the conservatives on the G. O. P. machinery. But at the moment he has captured the imagination of many Americans, and the Gallup poll of May 18 showed that he is popular in the country at large. He is definitely the candidate of the center in a nation where many had concluded that the only alternatives were left and right.

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Revolution in Denver

BY ROSCOE FLEMING

After many years with the Scripps-Howard press in Washington and other cities Mr. Fleming is living in Denver and contributing articles on regional and national subjects to various magazines

Denver, June 18

EMPLOYEES of the Denver *Post*, which once proclaimed itself the "Best Newspaper in the U. S. A." but does so no longer, can't decide which of the recent miracles that have astounded them is the greatest. One is that the doors have been put back on the toilets. Fred G. Bonfils, the original publisher, had them removed many years ago so that no guilty hireling might steal an extra five minutes of the time for which Bonfils was paying.

Another is that E. Palmer Hoyt, the present publisher, has hired Roy Takeno, former editor of the *Rocky Shimpo*, a Japanese-language weekly published in Denver during the war for "relocated" persons of Japanese blood. The *Rocky Shimpo's* chief purpose was to put up a defense against the onslaughts of the Denver *Post*, then published by W. C. Shepherd, which was urging incessantly, "Send all the yellow rats back to Japan." Shepherd, though shorn of power, remains around the *Post* newsroom to grunt at the doings of his successor, and to peek apprehensively over his shoulder at Takeno. Since guilty conscience was never an occupational disease of Bonfils trainees, Shep probably suffers merely from the feeling that the world must have gone mad if ordinary decency can be practiced openly in the very newsroom of the *Post*.

Here is a newspaper which from the standpoint of either ethics or professional proficiency has been for years perhaps the worst paper published in any large city in the United States; yet it has regularly made from $1,000,000 to $1,500,000 a year, ranks as the richest in its size-field, and has almost saturation circulation. Of late years no one has paid much attention to its news or opinions, which were inextricably mingled in a dreadful make-up and printed on pink paper that made it look like a bloody omelet. The *Post* was invariably against the best men and the most constructive projects, local or national. It always chose to support the cause of reaction. People opened its pages as a Roman citizen might go down to the city gate during a political purge, to see who was being crucified now.

Bonfils died in 1933 and was succeeded as publisher by Shepherd. Bonfils's rascality was occasionally on the grand scale, but under Shepherd the *Post* entered a grumbling dotage and displayed a small, mean sadism. People who once tried to get along with the paper because they knew it capable of any revenge have realized for years that it was as toothless as an aging hyena.

Apparently Mrs. Helen Bonfils Somnes and E. Ray Campbell, trustee for the estate of H. H. Tammen, who was Bonfils's partner in the *Post*, decided that something drastic must be done to rehabilitate the paper's reputation. Both are *Post* directors. They certainly shocked the town into attention when they brought in E. Palmer Hoyt as publisher, for Hoyt, no radical, had won a reputation with the Portland *Oregonian*, which he had made into a good, likable, humane newspaper, willing to present all sides of an issue. In contrast to Shepherd, Hoyt seems sincere in everything he does and to have a genuine liking for people. Campbell has said that he was selected after a survey of all the abler newspapermen in the country. The terms on which he consented to come are said to include a five-year contract, exclusive management powers, and a salary of $50,000 a year. He is also a director, succeeding Shepherd. It is already evident that he was a good choice and a good investment.

At his first staff meeting Hoyt held up his wrist watch and said, "From this moment the *Post* 'ain't mad at nobody.' " He has been as good as his word. He has applied unguents to all the wounds he has been able to reach and ended many *Post* feuds. But even so, he has shocked some Denverites to the core of their being.

The old *Post* was, naturally, dead against any extension of the TVA principle to other river basins and portrayed a Missouri Valley Authority as a form of "totalitarianism." The chief foe of the MVA in the region formerly advised the *Post* on questions of water policy. He called upon Hoyt to continue the paper's attacks on the project, but Hoyt firmly insisted he could not. Going farther, he sent one of his best men to the Tennessee Valley to describe what the TVA was really like. This report was the first fair account of the valley-authority issue Denver had had.

Hoyt is not expected to be satisfied, either, with the state's Congressional representation, which is made up of the most reactionary politicians of both parties.

Hoyt has not entirely discarded the old Bonfils ballyhoo, but he has made it less of an insult to readers. (It used to be remarked that all the *Post* needed was the greeting "Hello suckers!" under the masthead.) For Bonfils's back-page slogan, "Dedicated in perpetuity to the service of the people, that no good cause shall lack a champion, and that evil shall not thrive unopposed," Hoyt substituted simply, "The Voice of the Rocky

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Mountain Empire." Later he used the old slogan on the new editorial page he installed.

The "Rocky Mountain Empire," by the way, shows signs of being indefinitely extensible. Among cities listed in recent *Post* news stories as included in it are Omaha, Kansas City, Houston, Austin, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, and Wichita. A Denver columnist has said that he is waiting for Hoyt to annex Chicago and thus come face to face with Colonel McCormick.

Denverites have always had to choose between the *Post* and the morning Scripps-Howard *Rocky Mountain News*, a much decenter and quieter paper than the *Post*, with a circulation, perhaps for that reason, about one-third as large. Some observers give the new *Post* two years to absorb the *News* and thus add Denver to the list of monopoly newspaper towns. Certainly Roy Howard will have to loosen his purse-strings to keep up with the aggressive administration and enlarged budget of the *Post* today.

However, if you have been raised on a paper like the old *Post*, your taste may be spoiled for anything better. Hoyt reported to journalism students at the University of Colorado that he had received many letters asking him not to change either the *Post's* format or its policies.

Inside German Politics

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

Author of "Experiment in Germany: The Story of an American Intelligence Officer"

II. The Western Social Democrats

GERMAN Social Democracy is going through a crisis that may ultimately have an effect on all Europe. In any account of it two facts should be noted at the outset. First, the Social Democrats form one of the few sectors of the population that are not poisoned with fascism; whatever their faults, they are the people on whom the Western powers must mainly rely if they wish to reconstruct Germany along democratic lines. Second, the Social Democrats, like the members of other political parties, are not entirely independent agents but are influenced directly and indirectly by the military occupying authorities.

In the Russian zone the Social Democrats seem to be following the lead of the Communists, who, it is reasonable to assume, are not insensitive to the wishes of the Kremlin. The two left-wing parties share administrative power in the committees and anti-fascist groups which the Russian Military Government has set up. Such cooperation, in view of Communist discipline and purposiveness, is bound to leave its mark on the Social Democrats and seriously affect their will to independence. Otto Grotewohl, chairman of the S. P. D. Central Committee in the Russian zone, is a strong supporter of the merger between his party and the Communists. He has admitted that Moscow favored a union of the two parties as the "surest guaranty against the emergence of forces in Germany that might again attack Russia."

Western Social Democrats, while disagreeing with Grotewohl, believe him to be a sincere anti-fascist idealist and not a mere mouthpiece of Moscow. They recall that even before 1933 he had advocated a united left-wing labor party. At the Berlin meeting at which the Social Democrats overwhelmingly voted down the merger, Grotewohl went out of his way to defend the Communists. He said in effect (I quote from a summary report): "I realize that the Communist Party is accused of taking orders from Moscow. This has to be proved in every instance. Charges have also been made that eastern collective thinking is hostile to personal liberty. But what about the west? There individual freedom is the product of a capitalist system that harbors monarchical parties and permits secret fascist organizations."

In the British and American zones the Social Democrats display greater independence in action and less realism in analysis. The British, of course, do not interfere with them as bluntly as the Russians. (Russian tactlessness and roughness are often self-defeating; the "shot-gun" marriage between the Communists and the Socialists only infuriated the Socialists.) But it is generally believed that Kurt Schumacher, S. P. D. leader in the British zone and acknowledged chief of the western Social Democrats, is as susceptible to the voice of London as is Grotewohl to that of Moscow. It would, indeed, be strange if this were not so. Schumacher is said to be unhandicapped by the lack of transportation since he can fly in British planes to scattered political meetings. (The Russians, too, put transportation and villas at the disposal of favored Germans.)

In the American zone the small number of Military Government officers who understand German politics are not noticeably inimical to Social Democrats, especially those of the conservative variety. Wilhelm Knothe, the right-wing S. P. D. leader, told me that he thought M. G. personnel were "wonderful, fine people." We do not, however, meddle unduly with the non-Nazi political parties. On the important question of the Socialist-

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Communist merger, for example, General Clay ordered "hands off." He did not care what the outcome was so long as it was the decision of the majority.

Apart from the question of the merger, the western Social Democrats oppose the Communists and their S. P. D. supporters in the Russian zone on three fundamental matters. The most important is Marxism and its keystone, the class struggle. Prominent figures among the Social Democrats are repudiating the trappings of the Marxist faith and advocating an intimate alliance with the middle classes. They want to broaden the party's base and to transform it from a working-class party into a bourgeois movement with a liberal outlook not unlike that of the Roosevelt New Deal. By turning itself into a moderate center party, the S. P. D. hopes to win Germany's conservative middle classes away from the right-wing parties and thereby make itself the dominant political power in the Reich.

The second point on which the two groups differ is federalism. The Communists favor a strong central government with autocratic powers; the western Social Democrats are friendly to the idea of a decentralized Germany made up of various *Länder* (provinces) enjoying more autonomy than they had under Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm, Hindenburg, or Hitler. In this respect, Dr. Wilhelm Högner, the Social Democratic Prime Minister of Bavaria, has gone farther than the wishes of his party. Recognizing the separatist feeling and distrust of the Prussians always latent in Bavaria, Högner has favored a larger degree of autonomy than is palatable to most of the S. P. D. On the whole, German Social Democrats are good nationalists who desire a moderately strong central government but would like a few "states' rights" as a check on the federal *Beamtentum*. It is doubtful whether they would support the British and American plan for encouraging the division of Germany into eleven or twelve loosely federated and virtually autonomous states.

Thirdly, the S. P. D. and the K. P. D. have split on the idea of collective guilt which is now agitating those Germans of the pre-Hitler generation who are still burdened with an old-fashioned conscience. For reasons that are not entirely clear the Communists have accepted the thesis of the Allies and of Martin Niemöller that the whole German nation—not just the Nazi Party—is morally guilty of the war and the atrocities. The Communists say that the German workers, who labored faithfully in Hitler's war plants, must share the blame with the rest of the nation. This undoubtedly makes the party unpopular. The Social Democrats, on the other hand, deny with a good deal of temper that all Germans are equally to blame for the crimes of Hitlerism. Although they offered little active resistance to Nazism, particularly during the war, they point to their record and resent being placed on a par with Nazis and fascists. They argue that the Allies, especially Britain and France, aided Hitler's rise to power and did nothing to moderate the fury of his dictatorship. When Socialists and liberals of the Weimar Republic were sent to concentration camps, they recall, the statesmen of London, Paris, and Washington pretended that what was happening inside Germany was none of their business.

There is, of course, some truth in this argument, but also a considerable dose of self-righteousness. The Social Democrats of the Weimar Republic, it should be remembered, were strongly nationalistic: they cradled the Wehrmacht; they permitted the General Staff to rebuild itself; they treated Hitler and his paid hoodlums with an astonishing degree of judicial tenderness. Nor ought one to forget that neither the Social Democrats nor the Communists lifted a finger to defend the republic when Hitler seized it. However, whatever the moral strength of the Social Democratic position, its immediate result is to strengthen the reactionary nationalistic elements—and, incidentally, to win votes. As Pastor Niemöller has learned by lecturing in various parts of the Reich, Germans do not like to be reminded of the crimes of their government and of their own passivity in the face of them. The quickest and cheapest way to win popularity in Germany today is to challenge the world's accusation of collective moral guilt.

The tone of the S. P. D.'s polemics and politics is determined to a large extent by two of its leading figures—Kurt Schumacher in British Hanover and Wilhelm Knothe in American Frankfurt. Schumacher, a middle-aged lawyer, was a Social Democratic member of the Weimar Parliament and is said to be a persuasive orator. He spent many years in Dachau, but he does not seem to have emerged with any fundamental change in outlook. A German radical who knew Schumacher well in Dachau told me two things about him: first, even in the concentration camp he could not forget his hatred for the Communists; second, he vowed that once free again he would oppose any conflict with the K. P. D.

I have read Schumacher's utterances and have had long talks with some of his intimate collaborators. I gather that he rejects Marxist socialism and ascribes the failure of the Weimar Republic to the fact that it did not win over the middle classes. He believes in a non-Socialist democratic polity along conventional Western European lines. In a recent conversation with an acquaintance of mine, Schumacher accused the Communists of being hypocritical in their claims to democracy and doubted the durability of the present peace. A Third World War, he said, was both inevitable and imminent, and he was planning to side with Britain against Russia. When my friend said there would be no war, he burst out laughing.

Wilhelm Knothe's official position is that of president of the Social Democratic Party of Greater Hesse and

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Frankfurt, which received the largest number of votes, 44 per cent of the total, in the local elections there. Knothe is in his forties, a vigorous, stocky individual with a voice like a foghorn. Before Hitler he was a professional youth-movement organizer for the Social Democrats in Hesse-Nassau. The Nazis kept him in prison for nearly three years; when he got out in 1937 he gave up politics and took a job with a business firm.

Knothe is devoted to a set of clichés which he utters with machine-gun rapidity. He smacks his fist into his palm and says with great emphasis: "We're democrats. We don't believe in dictatorship. We're strong. We can smash the Nazis. We're positive. We'll show 'em." His sense of political realism can be judged by his statement to me that "Germany today is not only denazified but also free of militarism and economic reaction." In his opinion the Nazi youth can be easily reeducated—"just leave them to us, my dear sir"—and the German people are ready for democracy. The Weimar Republic, he asserted, broke down because it employed reactionaries and because the Communists misled the workers. As for a foreign policy for Germany today, he said that it must be along "European-democratic" lines, frankly designed against Russia.

These leaders are probably typical of the traditional Social Democrats, men over forty who were members of the party before Hitler. This age-group makes up the bulk of the membership. Military Government has restricted recruiting among youth by banning all youth organizations; less than 10 per cent of the party members are under twenty-five. In general the Socialist youth, what there is of it, is inclined to be more left than the leaders and deplores their anti-Communist and anti-Russian attitude.

It appears now that the German Social Democrats will split three ways. Those in the Russian zone will lose their identity in a single Socialist Unity Party. In the west, as the right wing's moderation is bolstered by the accretion of middle-class elements, the left wing will probably break off and join the Communists.

In my opinion the present policy of the western S. P. D. is based upon two questionable assumptions: (1) that it is possible to unite German labor with the German bourgeoisie—ultimately against the Soviet Union; and (2) that the German middle class is interested in or prepared to support a democratic system. I think that the first is psychologically and economically unrealistic, and the second untrue. The fact is—and Social Democrats themselves frequently admit it—that Germans for the most part are still either actively Nazi or authoritarian and racist-minded; I do not believe that such people can in the long run be reliable supporters of Social Democracy. Some day the S. P. D. will find itself sold down the river by another Brüning or Papen.

It seems to me that Germany is one country where it is absolutely necessary for the Socialists and Communists to cooperate for the eradication of Nazi-fascism. There are simply not enough other anti-fascist Germans able and willing to do the job. If the two left-wing parties do not work together toward this common goal, then I venture to predict that Germany will neither be cleansed of Nazi-fascism nor democratized. American and British bayonets will not be there forever.

[*Part I of this article was in the issue of June 8.*]

In the Wind

THESE TROUBLED TIMES: "Have you ever watched helplessly while a cork in a bottle of fine Moselle '27 crumbled sullenly in the neck of the bottle? Have you ever taken pieces of cork out of your teeth after drinking red wine, or even white? Then you too will be interested to know that for the first time a scientific study has been made of the problem of removing the cork from the bottle with a minimum of effort and a maximum of efficiency. The May, 1946, issue of *Modern Packaging Magazine* carries a complete analysis of this problem." (From a *Modern Packaging* press release.)

IN CUBA the Sugar Workers' Federation has complained to the island Labor Ministry that sugar workers in Campezuela were promised a 10 per cent wage increase by their bosses as soon as 60,000 sacks of sugar had been harvested. After the work was well under way, the federation claims, it was announced that the harvest for that area would be limited to exactly 59,000 sacks.

THE WOMEN OF WESTMINSTER and the Married Women's Association held a joint conference in London, went on record as declaring: "We loathe housework," and demanded "monetary recognition" of their household labors.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK: An anonymous high-school principal in a letter to H. C. L. Jackson's column in the Detroit *News*: "Teaching what is known as citizenship to high-school pupils these days is largely a matter of teaching them not to act like adults."

AMERICA, I LOVE YOU! The University of Rochester this June gave honorary degrees to Lise Meitner, nuclear physicist, and Branch Rickey, president of the Brooklyn Dodgers.

THE GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA, *NEWS* included this item in a roundup of a week's activities in court: "Judge Martin imposed a sentence of twenty-five years on Sylvester Pendergrass, Negro man, who pleaded guilty to assault with intent to ravish, with recommendation to the mercy of the court. . . . Roscoe Bagwell, white man, indicted on a charge of assault with intent to ravish, pleaded guilty to assault and battery of a high and aggravated nature. He was sentenced to serve three years, suspended during good behavior, and placed on probation for three years.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. One dollar will be paid for each item accepted.*]

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Small-Town America

BY ALDEN STEVENS

III. Monteagle, Tennessee

"IS THIS th' Highlander Folk School?" drawled a gawky mountain boy with a straw in his mouth.

Myles Horton, director of the school, who speaks with a definite twang himself, admitted that it was.

"Ah want to go to school here."

"Well, this is a labor-union school, you know. Are you in a union?"

"Yeah, ah come from Sherwood, down back o' th' mount'n. We got a little union down there in th' lime works."

"You'll have to be properly accredited by your union or we can't accept you. How about that?"

The boy scratched his head and shifted from one foot to the other. Finally he said, "Ah guess ah'll have to go back an' ask 'em about that."

"Generally the school is for union officers and organizers. Are you an officer?"

"Ah'm what they call the pres-ee-dent."

This conversation took place several years ago. The gawky mountain lad was J. D. Bradford, now an organizer and vice-president of the Lime, Cement, and Gypsum Workers of America and one of the men responsible for the remarkable growth in union membership which has taken place in the South in the past five years.

Highlander is on a 200-acre tract given for the purpose in 1932 by Dr. Lilian W. Johnson of Memphis, a leader in the cooperative movement in this country and now an active and agreeable lady of eighty-two. The school is cooperatively owned by its staff of eight and has no endowment. It is financed by contributions from individuals, including Mrs. Roosevelt, from unions, and from foundations. It is short of money and desperately short of space, for more students come every year and the buildings are overcrowded and old. A drive for $65,000 for a new building is now under way.

Myles Horton was born and raised in the little town of Savannah on the Tennessee River, where General Grant had his headquarters before the Battle of Shiloh. Horton saw his first movie on the Cotton Blossom, the showboat Edna Ferber made famous. He got book-learnin' at Union Theological Seminary, the University of Chicago, and in Denmark, but he is still a Tennessean who believes in his state and its people.

The school's early days were hard. Monteagle is a small town, the home of the Monteagle Sunday School Assembly, an early branch of the New York Chautauqua. It was not friendly, and neither were most of the Tennessee newspapers. The Southern labor movement was weak and poor and had been plagued with failure, but as it gained strength the school gained support. Now both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. indorse it.

The school is now so well established, in fact, that Horton has turned over the active direction to Catharine Winston and is concentrating on bringing industrial workers and farmers closer together in Tennessee. As state representative of the Farmers' Union, he has organized a number of locals. The traditional conservatism of the small Southern farmer, he says, stems from lack of information about labor, industry, and unions.

Highlander does not offer regular year-round courses, does not give degrees, and pays no attention to previous educational records. Its courses are tailored to the needs of Southern unions at the moment and are rarely twice alike. They are given by the school staff and by labor leaders, labor editors, and union workers invited in from all over the South. In addition to conducting classes, Highlander sends workers to other places for extension courses. Periodically it offers a writers' work session for reporters and editors on the rapidly growing labor press.

On May 6 last, Texas oil workers, shipyard and hosiery workers from Alabama, Tennessee textile and Georgia furniture workers, together with many others, gathered at Highlander for the third C. I. O. leadership school. Through discussion and practice they studied public speaking, parliamentary law, labor history, organizing methods, and collective bargaining, acquiring tools to use in their own locals.

Nowhere else in America today, with all the good city-bound labor schools, is there any place like this backwoods Southern school, which brings together the city industrial worker and the farmer in a continuous, active program. It opens its doors to whites and Negroes, experienced and inexperienced workers, old and young unionists, and trains them to be leaders in their locals, their communities, and the nation. Monteagle is a focal point for the new labor forces gathering in the South.

[*Mr. Stevens has been making a fifteen-thousand-mile motor trip through the United States gathering material for this series of articles. He is the author of "Arms and the People."*]

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

The Rub in Rubber

BEFORE the war the United States accounted for about half the world consumption of raw rubber but controlled only a minute fraction of the production. It was an irksome situation both for manufacturers of rubber goods, who felt they were at the mercy of the plantation owners' cartel sponsored by the British, Dutch, and French governments, and for the military authorities concerned about supplies of a vital strategic material. Today the story is very different: since 1940 a synthetic-rubber industry has been built up in this country with a capacity more than equal to consumption in any pre-war year, and any repetition of the kind of hold-up engineered by the plantation owners in the twenties is out of the question.

Nevertheless, raw rubber continues to present a problem to the industries and governments concerned and one for which a permanent solution is not yet in sight. The great question is what will be the future relationship between the natural and the synthetic article? For some purposes synthetic is equal, or even superior, to natural rubber, but for tires, which account for 70 per cent of the consumption in this country, manufacturers agree that the latter is more satisfactory.

At present there is no free market in rubber of any kind, and prices are purely artificial. Synthetic is sold by the Rubber Reserve Company, a subsidiary of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, at 18 cents a pound, which provides an ample margin for the most efficient plants—said to have reduced costs to as low as 12 cents a pound—but means a loss for the least efficient. By agreement with the British, French, and Dutch governments natural rubber has been held at a ceiling of 20¼ cents, free on board Asiatic ports, and sold to American manufacturers at 22½ cents.

A new agreement has just been announced by which the Far Eastern price is raised to 23½ cents, which is the equivalent of 24¾ cents in the United States. The increase is necessitated, according to a State Department release, both by the continued shortage of natural rubber in relation to demand and by present exceptionally high costs of production. At the new price natural rubber will be about 30 per cent more expensive than before the war, which represents a comparatively modest advance considering the peaks to which other raw materials have risen. American cotton, for instance, is up 140 per cent and tobacco 110 per cent.

In the light of such comparisons it is probable that many plantation owners will consider they are being harshly treated. Many of them, forgetting their pre-war record of restrictionism, have been talking of the benefits of a free market. With manufacturers the world over still finding their allotments of rubber far below requirements, a free market probably would send prices soaring and produce bonanza profits to compensate for the lean years. But it is certain that the aftermath would be bitter, for runaway prices would stimulate new production and make the long-term problem of equating supply and demand even more difficult. As it is, the potential world supply of rubber, natural and synthetic, is estimated at 3,000,000 tons, compared to potential normal demand of about 1,500,000 tons.

Writing shortly after V-J Day, the London *Economist* issued a solemn warning to the rubber interests against yielding to the temptation to make a killing. "The only rational policy," it continued, "is one designed to reduce costs to the lowest possible level. Natural rubber has lost its former monopoly; in future the proportions in which natural and synthetic rubber will be demanded by consumers is largely a matter of price and technical fitness for purpose." Undoubtedly there is considerable scope for increasing efficiency and lowering costs in rubber-growing. The practice of bud-grafting, employed now in only a small number of plantations, has been found to double and triple output. Bulk shipment of the product in liquid latex form offers an important possibility for cheaper handling. Concentration of estates and, particularly, concentration of their financial management could appreciably reduce overhead expenses. If advantage were taken of the present sellers' market to cut costs by these and other methods, it might eventually be possible, the *Economist* suggested, for the industry to prosper with prices at 6 to 8 cents a pound.

Supposing such a target is achieved—and the pressure of over-supply will prove a powerful force pushing prices to that level or lower—what will be the effect on the American synthetic industry? In its interim report last March the Inter-Agency Policy Committee on Rubber, headed by William L. Batt, urged that the United States should retain in continuous operation, "regardless of costs," enough general-purpose synthetic-rubber capacity to provide 250,000 tons a year, roughly one-third of estimated normal consumption. In addition, plants with a capacity of 350,000 tons should be maintained by the government in stand-by condition for use in emergencies.

Practically the whole of the synthetic-rubber industry was built by and is now owned by the government. The Batt committee, however, proposed that the plants which were to be kept in production should be sold to private owners, and in the last few days the War Assets Administration has issued a disposal plan. But there is no indication of a rush by private capital to buy, and that is easily understandable in view of the probability that before long natural rubber will be in a position to undercut the product of the most efficient synthetic plants. The maintenance of the industry is going to cost money, and the unsettled question is: whose money? Are the consumers to pay through a tariff which would have to be a steep one, or is the burden to be provided by the taxpayers in the form of subsidies? Leaders of the rubber industry, like P. W. Litchfield, chairman of Goodyear, think that the only answer is public ownership: they want the synthetic plants kept in production, but they don't want to undertake the risk themselves. Space forbids the drawing of a moral from this interesting development, but I feel confident that my readers can do that for themselves.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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BOOKS and the ARTS

A Classic Book on Hungary

HUNGARY—TO BE OR NOT TO BE. By Rustem Vambery. Frederick Ungar Publishing Company. $2.50.

FOR every student of European problems, Professor Vambery's last book should be "must" reading. Not only will the reader find in its 200 pages an irrefutable reply to the official propaganda of past Hungarian regimes, but through the author's pertinent analysis of his country's social, economic, and political structure he will get a better understanding of the whole Central European problem; he will grasp the paramount fact that the *morbus latifundii*—so named by the author's great friend, Professor Oscar Iaszi—was the fatal disease not only of caste-ruled Hungary, properly called a squirearchy by the author, but also of most neighboring countries. Only by realizing this will people understand the usefulness of the present revolution in Central Europe.

It took a man of Dr. Vambery's deep patriotism to apply to the traditional Hungarian chauvinism the same remedy Thomas Masaryk used against Czech chauvinistic tendencies (the late Czechoslovak President proved that the popular Zelenohorsky and Kralovedvorsky manuscripts were forgeries): "The political existence of a nation must not be backed by lies." Following this precept the author makes a sharp distinction between the true Hungarian liberalism of the early nineteenth century and the pseudo-liberalism, much propagandized abroad, of later days. He is rightly proud of men like the two Szechenyis, Francis Deak, Nicholas Wesselenyi, and many other statesmen, scientists, writers, poets, and artists who have acquired a place of honor for their country in the international community; but he points out that "the heyday of Hungarian nationalism, the period of Francis Joseph I, which shortsighted observers have praised as the golden age of Hungary, was in fact the period of decay." He also mentions the fact, little known in the United States, that Kossuth admitted in his exile the mistake he had made by not recognizing the legitimate aspirations of the non-Magyar national groups when he was fighting against Hapsburg domination. (Incidentally, this proves how strong the Hungarian idiosyncrasy of "racial superiority" could be, if even a man of Kossuth's stature was subject to it.)

Dr. Vambery shows the absurdity of "historical" claims as against the ethnic right of self-determination when he reminds us of the map, inlaid with marble in various colors, erected by Mussolini on the Via del Impero in Rome to show the extent of the Roman Empire. Such features, many historical epigrams, and quotations from great writers lighten this description of the Hungarian drama, written in an easy and accomplished style. We are reminded of how Sir Walter Raleigh tore up the manuscript of his History of the Romans because he could not get from several guardsmen the same version of a brawl that had happened in the courtyard of the Tower two days before. The Hungarian anti-Semitism, "tempered by corruption," is compared to the "czarist absolutism tempered by assassination." To describe Horthy's predicament after his revisionism had thrown him into Hitler's arms, the words of Goethe's "apprentice sorcerer" are quoted: "I cannot rid myself of the spirits I called."

But Horthy's alliance with Nazi Germany was not accidental. It was for Hungary the last link of a long chain.

> It was this German influence, coupled with the shortsighted and selfish policy of the ruling caste, which ultimately brought Hungary to disaster. This disaster did not start, as propagandists of the Horthy regime want to make us believe, in March, 1944, when the German "ally" insisted on a more reliable Nazi-minded government, or in October, 1944, when the Magyar Nazis took over. Nor did it begin with the dismemberment of Hungary in 1920, nor even with Hungary's joining Germany in World War I. Although apologists and press agents of the former Hungarian ruling caste will scarcely admit it, the germs of the disease which finally produced an apparently hopeless situation in the Hungarian state can be traced back to that period in which the ruling classes, forgetful of their European-minded leaders of the previous century, became the willing slaves of their Hapsburg and German overlords in order to gain or retain independence in handling the lower classes, including the national minorities.
>
> It was this bargain which brought them to the brink of the abyss. No doubt the composition of the ruling caste changed with the lapse of time, but its mentality, its bellicose propensity, its feeling of superiority remained essentially unaltered. In this case, too, the old adage proved to be true that *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.* Not one link is missing in that sequence of events which led Hungary from the tragedy of Mohacs via Trianon to the disaster at the end of the last war. The victim, too, was always the same—the Hungarian people, who had to suffer for the shortsighted lust for power, the love of ease and luxury, and the errors of their betters.

So much for the tragic past, sealed by the present revolutionary transformation of Hungary. "Desperate gamblers," trying to "undo history" and to restore the realm of St. Stephen, will hardly have a chance in the future. But "there is no such thing as a republic without republicans or a democracy without a democratic spirit. No democratic form of government—for that matter no permanent government—can be imposed by the victors on the vanquished."

Thus the author seems to conceive of two stages for the organization of Hungary as a democratic state. A first period would take care of the democratic education of the masses and of the economic reorganization. "Whether we like it or not, post-war emergencies sometimes necessitate authoritarian measures. Whether we like it or not, a revolution is going on in Hungary as elsewhere, even if the wishful thinking of the victors prefers to call it law and order." This brings to one's mind Mr. Vishinsky's "dictatorial democracy."

Only later will the second, literally democratic period start, for an educated and conscious nation to which democracy would have come, "as the history of Western countries

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proves, in the wake of industrialization." Then it will not be merely the "affixing of the signboard of democracy to the political stage, as scenery was changed in the Shakespearean theater."

Of course, all this pertains mainly to the domestic problem of Hungary. As for the international problem, the author points out that "it depends much more on that iron curtain which may divide Europe. Not only the existence of an independent Hungarian state but the future welfare of mankind hangs on averting the schism of which Winston Churchill has so emphatically warned the world." And, as if whistling in the dark, Dr. Vambery repeats the question of his friend Iaszi: "Why should Stalin return in Hungary to the policy of militant communism or revolutionary mysticism which he has abandoned at home?"

Two years ago Professor Vambery and I, lecturing together at a college, had to disappoint our audience in its expectation of a "spirited" discussion: we could not find a single point of disagreement. Straws in the wind? Shall we find, when we return to Danubia, that the lesson of history has been understood at last?

In Dr. Vambery's words, "For Hungary and the whole Danubian region fairness is identical with the federative idea." But "two years ago the Soviet Union opposed any Southeastern European federation lest it turn into a *cordon sanitaire* of the Western powers against Russia, and discussions of the plan were therefore discontinued."

Today the second Paris conference is in session. The stalemate cannot continue. Peace treaties must be signed and a constructive solution found for Danubia. Why not a U. N. advisory commission to help reorganize the region economically and prepare its federation?

But, to quote Dr. Vambery's final sentence, can defeated countries "afford the luxury of doubting the wisdom of the victors?"

CHARLES A. DAVILA

BRIEFER COMMENT

Vichy, House of the Dead

"AGE OF ASSASSINS," by Philippe Soupault (Knopf, $3), is the record of the author's six months' imprisonment in 1942 as a political suspect in a Tunis jail. "Assassin" may not be the *mot juste* for our epoch of official police terror, torture, and mass deception, but there can be no question that the age, whatever its name, is documented here. M. Soupault tells us that he does not wish to make "literature" but only to tell the truth—"the stupid truth stupidly, the dull truth dully, the sad truth sadly." But this is too narrow a view of literature, especially when it is clear that only a literary man—who happens in this case to be a gifted novelist and poet, and also the author of a very interesting little book on Joyce—could produce so direct, unassuming, and straightforward a piece of writing as this book. Usually it is the "non-literary" who fall into inflated bathos and bombast—into "literature" in the pejorative sense—when they attempt to get their experience down on paper.

In view of his self-imposed limitations, and in spite of the character of his experience itself, M. Soupault has scarcely produced anything to stand beside Dostoevski's "House of the Dead," or even anything which has the dramatic and journalistic impact of Arthur Koestler's two books on imprisonment. But there are a number of extraordinary observations of prisoners and guards, and the author's struggle to be honest, transparently honest, about his experience itself makes the book worth reading. If he has refrained from generalization, that does not prevent our generalizing for ourselves from his experience. In the history of our totalitarian epoch Vichy has already shrunk to a small and sordid incident. But what this book shows is that all the first signs and shoots—the salutes, the shirt-wearing, the passion to submerge the individual will in that of a leader who "is always right"—had begun to push up their heads among the French, whose traditions of liberty and the rights of man are as strong and long as our own. Perhaps "Age of the Escape from Freedom" would be a better name for our period. Not all the foci of infection have yet disappeared: there are still too many in the world who are consumed by totalitarian longings—however they may disguise these under one rationalization or another.

WILLIAM BARRETT

Militarism and Policemen

THAT IT IS ALWAYS POSSIBLE for an ingenious person to build a complete political theory upon a single aspect of society is once again demonstrated by "Government Against the People," by Asher Brynes (Dodd, Mead, $3). The author has discovered that there is a connection between the nature of police systems within states and the propensity and ability of those states for war. Upon that partial truth he has built his book, as curious an example of plausible rhetoric and confused ingenuity as I have read since inquiring into bimetallism.

The central idea of the book is that only those countries which possess democratically controlled police systems can be peaceful states. Of these there are only two in the world, Britain and the United States. Sometimes, however, the causal relationship is reversed. Only secure states can develop a democratic police. America has less reason to fear war than other countries; therefore we have evolved a police that must cooperate with the people. Russia has no defensible frontiers; hence it is a police state. It costs Mr. Brynes an eighty-page outline of Russian social history to establish this lopsided exaggeration.

The rest of Europe is dismissed with the same impertinence. "Consequently there can be no question in Europe of relying on cooperation between police and public and public and police. Law and order are aggressively imposed on Continentals, and with military precision."

The result of this dismissal is to isolate three countries—Russia, Britain, and the United States. The first is a police state and, by implication, cannot possibly be peaceful. The United States should base its foreign relations on this fact, Mr. Brynes argues in his final chapter. We should not even

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give post-war aid to police states—that is, not to any country in Europe except Britain. One sees that it all boils down to a familiar conception. The difference is that Mr. Brynes has achieved a conservative position without the necessity of raising basic social problems at all, thus queering the liberal and revolutionary pitch very nicely. One could, of course, take the contrary position—that we should work for international security as a means of liberalizing the police systems of the world. Or one could simply describe Mr. Brynes as an ill-informed traffic cop aspiring to be a divisional inspector and ignore his directions at the next block.

RALPH BATES

Science and Democratic Values

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS we have grown more and more concerned about the role of scientists in determining policy. What are scientists actually doing now? Within the broad framework of democratic values, what ought to be their role? These questions are discussed in a dozen or so papers in "Science for Democracy," edited by Jerome Nathanson (King's Crown Press, $2.50), the provocative third annual volume of the Conference on the Scientific Spirit and Democratic Faith. The contributors, drawing upon wide experience, cite many specific examples of the ways in which monopolistic corporations abuse the patent laws and otherwise block and confine vital research for their own narrow purposes. Such facts, though not essentially new, cannot be too often repeated. The discussion of remedial measures, however, is less satisfactory. Paul B. Sears, for instance, having shown that science could be used far more effectively for the conservation of natural resources, locates the trouble naively by saying that the people in power are ignorant. Yet his own account shows clearly that natural resources are being depleted by men who know quite well what they are doing. Other contributors are more critical and offer suggestions that go beyond the safe plea for more education. These suggestions, however, though doubtless full of insight, are too often merely *ad hoc*. Scientists are part of a system of social relationships that includes executives, stockholders, professors, and others. Within a framework of beliefs and more or less recognized standards these men are pursuing various interests and mobilizing power of various kinds. The interplay of such forces in any social system yields multiple results, some "good" and some "bad." Only methodical analysis of the system as a whole can show how to minimize the bad results without jeopardizing the good ones.

On this question of applying scientific method to the solution of social problems the best points in the report would be more cogent and clear if they were brought together out of the scattered and diverse contributions of Jerome Frank, John A. P. Millet, Morris Opler, and Ernest Nagel. One function of the scientist is to diagnose the social situation in order to uncover the needs to be met. Some of the needs will not be obvious, because the observer comes perhaps from a different social group; other needs are unconscious and hidden behind fine rationalizations. Having made a diagnosis, the scientist must, before recommending practical steps, try to estimate the probable consequences of alternative courses of action. Among the consequences that must be anticipated, as far as possible, are the reactions of various interested groups, some of which will be pleased and others plagued by any induced change.

There has been too much talk of late to the effect that scientists ought to be in control of things. Actually, no course of action can be wholly scientific. The function of deciding policy is an executive function, performed under democratic safeguards. The indispensable role of the scientist, as this brief but rich volume suggests, should be limited to helping the executive in the process of narrowing down the range of choice.

HARRY M. JOHNSON

MARTINSON'S
"LOVE THAT COFFEE"

Stilwell in Burma

SOME ASPECTS OF THE WAR were never reflected adequately by the communiqués or by day-to-day reporting. One was the internal conflict among the Allies over questions of military and political strategy; another the manner in which important military leaders influenced developments. On both accounts Fred Eldridge's "Wrath in Burma" (Doubleday, $3) sheds considerable light on a little-known sector of the Far Eastern war. The author, who was Stilwell's public-relations officer, shared his overriding interest in quick victory and his utter disdain for the British concern for empire and Chungking's desire to hoard material for the post-war civil war. As a result of this partisanship the book is likely to provoke the same sort of controversy as Ralph Ingersoll's "Top Secret," but for this reader it was particularly enjoyable as an effective portrait of a man who is both a great democrat and a remarkable military leader.

ANDREW ROTH

FICTION IN REVIEW

HAVING been told that William Saroyan's "The Adventures of Wesley Jackson" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.75) was the first anti-war novel of World War II, I ignored the warning of nausea induced by its opening sentence—"My name is Wesley Jackson, I'm nineteen years old, and my favorite song is 'Valencia' "—and followed it through the whole of its maundering maudlin length. It is a form of punishment distinctly not recommended to friends of this column. Even the most masochistic reader should be content with a lightning tour of Mr. Saroyan's chapter headings—Wesley Makes an Astrological Bargain, Sees a Star, and Learns a Secret; Wesley Escapes a Life of Lying and Dreams a Terrible Dream; Wesley Witnesses a Strange Sight, Receives a Number of Letters Addressed to the People of the World, and Is Visited by His Father; Wesley Is Banished to Ohio and Has a Farewell Drink with the Modern Woman; Wesley Tries to Tell Joe Foxhall What He's Gotten Hep to, and Pop Tries to Tell Wesley Something He Can't Remember; Wesley Goes A. W. O. L. Looking for Pop and Finds a Woman Singing

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"Valencia" in the Snow; Wesley and Jill Cleave Together for a Son if It Is the Will of God, etc., etc. There are seventy-six such titles.

That Mr. Saroyan's novel adds up to some kind of anti-war position there is no question. Neither Wesley Jackson nor anyone else his author trusts wished to be drafted; no one Mr. Saroyan respects has any conviction of what he is fighting, or finds any joy or intelligence in army life. And conceivably it took a certain courage for Mr. Saroyan to proclaim his strong sentiments against war so soon after the termination of hostilities. As to his specific indictments of army organization, temper, and procedure, while of course no civilian is equipped to support or refute them, the most non-military reader must recognize the thread of illogic that runs through them. One notes, for instance, that whereas the unwillingness to go overseas and be killed is presented as proof of the virtue of Wesley and his friends, the same distaste for danger and death is proof among the officers only of their cowardice. One observes that when the higher-ups have recourse to "influence" Mr. Saroyan offers this as evidence of their venality, but when the Wesleys of the army use influence Mr. Saroyan offers it as evidence of the brotherhood of man. One need be little a moral absolutist to hold judgment in reserve before such an easy and quite unconscious relativism.

The brotherhood of man has of course always been Mr. Saroyan's Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Ocean Charter. But what is freshly interesting about "The Adventures of Wesley Jackson" is the further insight it gives us into the kind of man with whom Mr. Saroyan feels such strong brotherly connection, its data on the structure of the society he opts for. The people with whom he would make a fellowship are vagrants, half-criminals, the insane, prostitutes, drunkards—all the rootless elements of the population who, if only because they do not fit comfortably into our present system, Mr. Saroyan believes to have some special secret of happiness. His social ideal has nothing in common with a socialist ideal. He has no bias in favor of the proletariat; indeed, his society gives a particularly warm welcome to millionaires, provided they are of a sufficient eccentricity. His Utopia, like John Steinbeck's, is a state of irresponsibility. And in relation to his society of irresponsibles, the Writer—the capitals are Mr. Saroyan's own—has two functions: he is its promotion manager, its Official Propagandist; he also writes its popular songs.

Naturally, the songs are songs of love. Mr. Saroyan himself sings in praise of the love of man for man, of man for woman, of parents for children (especially of fathers for their unborn sons), of children for parents. He sings of our love for God, of our love for our friends who are called our enemies, of everything, in fact, except our love for our enemies who are called our friends: these he hates with un-Christian fervor. For the aggression of war Mr. Saroyan offers the substitute of the aggression of love. Not, obviously, that he himself recognizes his pious emotions as even a weapon of self-defense, let alone a counter-attack. But I can scarcely imagine the reader who at the end of 285 pages of Mr. Saroyan's suffocating affection would not choose to face a machine-gun sooner than be loved to death by Wesley Jackson.

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There is perhaps one further point worth calling attention to in Mr. Saroyan's book—the curious anatomy of its sexual emotions. The naughty imaginings of a little boy—all a matter of tearing off women's clothes (chiefly older women than Wesley, by the way), of "sporting around" to the tunes of Brahms and Tschaikowsky, and of getting for nothing what other men pay for—combine with ambitions of such purity and exaltation that they can be rendered only in the Biblical language of cleaving and begetting. Although Wesley Jackson occupies his army leaves very efficiently and entirely gratis between the Modern Woman and the madam of an expensive house, these amorous adventures are shown to be merely affectionate interludes in the serious business of searching for a girl-wife. Eventually he finds "darling Jill" and marries her: he holds her in his arms until morning and "it was the same many nights." And when Jill is finally allowed "to take unto herself his heart's delight in her...to see if their smiling together might be, by the grace of God, themselves together in their own son," Wesley records the happy consummation in the family Bible.

After the viscous experience of Mr. Saroyan, almost anything, even Somerset Maugham's "Then and Now" (Doubleday, $2.50), would come as a breath of free air. In its own fashion, however, Mr. Maugham's new book too is something to cause the spirits to fail. A re-creation of Machiavelli's life in the years that preceded the writing of "The Prince" and "Mandragola," "Then and Now" alternates between a textbook dryness of historical outline and an embarrassingly primitive effort to liven things up. "He had not spared his wit and wisdom to teach him the ways of the world, how to make friends and influence people. And this was his reward, to have his girl snatched away from him under his very nose." This, for instance, is Mr. Maugham's idiom for the working of Machiavelli's mind. Perhaps not every page can equal in vulgarity this sample of Mr. Maugham's method, but very few pages fail to proclaim, by their deadness or coyness or simpleness, his lamentable inadequacy to the historical subject he has chosen to fictionalize. The single section of "Then and Now" which at all reveals the practiced hand of the craftsman for which its author is renowned is the passage in which Machiavelli starts giving a literary form to an adventure he has just passed through; Mr. Maugham's version of the transmutation into drama of actual events is engaging. But even here our pleasure at watching fact being alchemized into fiction is shadowed by the realization of how little "Then and Now" itself commands this sorcerer's art

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Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

OUR natural and even urgent curiosity as to the developments in French painting since 1940 has been but meagerly satisfied by a few portfolios of reproductions and, in the last month, by a dozen or so oils shown at the Matisse Gallery: three paintings apiece by Matisse, Jean Dubuffet, and André Marchand, two by Rouault, and one apiece by Picasso and Bonnard.

The School of Paris remains still the creative fountainhead of modern art, and its every move is decisive for advanced artists everywhere else—who are advanced precisely because they show the capacity to absorb and extend the preoccupations of that nerve-center and farthest nerve-end of the modern consciousness which is French art. Other places—Berlin under the Weimar Republic, for instance—may have manifested greater sensitivity to immediate history, but Paris has during the last hundred years revealed the most faithful understanding of the changing historical essence of our society.

The concern of French painting since Delacroix and Courbet with the "physical" or technical has reflected, more integrally perhaps than any contemporary phase of any other art, the conscious or unconscious positivism that forms the core of the bourgeois-industrialist ethos. It did not matter that the individual artist was a professing Catholic or a mystic or an anti-Dreyfusard—in spite of himself, his art spoke positivism or materialism: its essence lay in the immediate sensation, and it operated under the most drastic possible reduction of the visual act. It is exactly because Picasso is one of the most literary and super-structural of all painters in intention, and therefore incomparably sensitive to his age and milieu, that he was forced to produce cubism, the latest and most radical of all forms of positive art. His very genius—which involved this hypersensitivity to the fundamental moods of an age that expressed itself much more sincerely in its techniques and *methods* than in its conscious ideologies—made it too difficult for him to devote himself *ambitiously* to anything but the "physical."

After 1920 the School of Paris's positivism, which had been carried by the essentially optimistic assumption that infinite prospects of "technical" advance lay before it, began to lose faith in itself. At the same time that the suspicion arose that capitalism itself no longer commanded perspectives of infinite expansion, it began to be suspected that "physical" art was likewise faced with limits beyond which it could not go. Mondrian seemed the handwriting on the wall. But artists like Matisse and Picasso also appear to have felt that unless painting proceeded, at least during our time, in its exploration of the physical, it would stop advancing altogether—that to turn to the literary would be to retreat and repeat; whether the physical was exhausted or not, there was no ambitious alternative. All this—the despair of the physical and the doubt whether anything but the physical remained—is dramatically mirrored in the painting Picasso has done since 1927.

Materialism and positivism when they become pessimistic turn into hedonism, usually. And the path-breakers of the School of Paris, Matisse and Picasso, and Miró, too—no less than the surrealists and the neo-romantics, whose pessimism rests on cynicism rather than on despair—began during the twenties to emphasize more than ever the pleasure element in their art. The School of Paris no longer sought to *discover* pleasure but to *provide* it. But whereas the surrealists and the neo-romantics conceived of pleasure in terms of sentimental subject matter, Matisse, Picasso and those who followed them saw it principally in luscious color, rich surfaces, decoratively inflected design.

In Matisse's hands this hedonism signifies at times something quite other than the decadence many people think to see in it. From reproductions one gathers that during the war he returned to "luxury" painting, after having in the several years previous shown increasing tendencies toward almost abstract simplification. The return to "luxury" seems to have resulted in a great gain—if not in his figure and conversation pieces, which seem casual and thin, then certainly in his new still lifes, which benefiting at last by post-cubism, mark one more peak of Matisse's art. The controlled sensuality, their careful sumptuousness prove that the flesh is as capable of virtue as the soul and can enjoy itself with equal rigor.

Picasso seems to have renounced hedonism at the time of the Spanish civil war. And his still life at the Matisse Gallery, for all its connection with the School of Paris's recent consumer's preoccupation with food and intimate objects, strives for the same *terribilità* his figure pieces. This picture fails

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sadly as does all of Picasso's recent work that I have seen in reproduction. He insists on representation in order to answer our time with an art equally explicit as to violence and horror, but at the same time the inherent logic of his genius and his period still pushes him toward the abstract. In my opinion it is Picasso's temperamental resistance to the abstract that has landed him in the impasse in which he now finds himself. It seems to be a case of split personality, which is rather shockingly reflected in the helpless and almost vulgar way in which he has painted the pitcher in the still life at Matisse's.

Bonnard's recent landscape at the same gallery is even more delivered up into color and color texture than Monet's lily-pad paintings, with contour and definition so summary as to verge on abstract art. It is a fair picture, but not of the same high order as most of the recent work of Bonnard's I have seen in reproduction—which I presume to be adequately faithful.

Rouault's recent work likewise shows an intensification of sensuous qualities, difficult as that would seem in his case. Otherwise it adds nothing to what we already know about his art.

André Marchand is presented as one of the best of the younger generation of Parisian painters. In him the pleasure principle according to the physical tradition is revealed nakedly and decadently. Marchand's drawing owes almost everything to Picasso, while his color has absorbed all that has been rich and juicy in French painting since Renoir and boiled it down to slick, fatty tones through which shine brilliant and exquisite but meaningless intensities of hue. Not all Marchand's tact, *expertise*, and taste can save his art from being confectionery.

Jean Dubuffet—in distinction from Marchand, Gischia, Lepicque, Pigneron, Esteve, and the other younger artists of the School of Paris who pay homage to the physical by crossing Picasso's drawing with Matisse's color and yet arrive at little more than confectionery—reveals literary leanings. But the literature, I must admit, is of a superior order. Dubuffet is the only French painter who, to my knowledge, has consulted Klee, but he has made of Klee's influence something monumental and far more physical, and he has taken advantage of the license won by Klee's whimsy and by children's art for the purpose of a savage attack on the human image. Of Dubuffet's three paintings shown at Matisse's, only one is successful—"Promeneuse au parapluie," a powerful picture into whose thick, tarry surface a heroic graffito has been scratched. From a distance Dubuffet seems the most original painter to have come out of the School of Paris since Miró, and it is curious that he, like so many lesser American artists, should have followed Klee in order to find an escape from the physical into "poetry." It is too early to tell anything definite—and Klee is a deceptive support in the long run—but if Dubuffet's art consolidates itself on the level indicated by these three pictures of his, then easel painting with *explicit* subject matter will have won a new lease on life.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

NOW and then I am made aware of the curious notions that most people have about criticism. Recently, for example, I received in an envelope my record-column of May 25 with *Records* crossed out and *Likes and Dislikes* substituted at the top, and with each statement that I liked or disliked something underlined throughout the article. As though criticism properly is something more than personal likes and dislikes, and as though such likes and dislikes are mere whims. Actually criticism is as personal as the art it deals with; it begins with the critic's experience of, and response to, the work of art with his particular resources for the purpose; and it ends with his formulation of his judgment—a reasoned statement of like or dislike. My reader underlined my dislike of Brahms's Violin Concerto and again of Szigeti's performance; but he paid no attention to the subsequent statement that "music as pretentious as the first movement, as saccharine as the second, should not be played with fussy, tremulous inflection that exaggerates its faults," which made it clear that the dislike was not mere whim but reasoned judgment of my experience of the work and the performance. But those who like Brahms or Puccini can account for my dislike only on the assumption that it represents not experience but prejudice—that, literally, I judge without knowledge of the music; and when I reply that I do know it very well they contend that I cannot have heard it performed properly.

This is the contention of a reader who has written to "take strong exception to the calling of Puccini's music tripe" in my column of May 4; but in addition he asks: "Do you actually mean to say that Puccini's music, which has thrilled thousands the world over, is bad?" I might ask in return whether Hollywood's products, which have thrilled millions the world over, are therefore good. But the right answer is Bernard Shaw's statement in one of his dramatic reviews fifty years ago: "It is the business of the critic to educate these dunces, not to echo them." Or as I once put it in this column, a magazine doesn't hire a critic to genuflect before the limited perceptions of the multitude but to give its readers the benefit of the greater perceptions he is presumed to have.

A few of Columbia's June releases that were delayed have straggled in. One is a volume of Negro spirituals sung by Paul Robeson (Set 610; $3.75). The volume offers "Go Down, Moses," "Balm in Gilead," "By an' By," "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child," "John Henry," "Water Boy," "Nobody Knows de Trouble I've Seen," and "Joshua Fit de Battle of Jericho," which Robeson sings with magnificence of vocal sound that is the medium of impressive emotional force. Lawrence Brown's piano accompaniments seem to me to lack the commensurate force they should have.

On a single (12321-D; $1) is Elsa's Dream from "Lohengrin," sung by Trau-

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bel with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony under Rodzinski. One is pleasantly surprised at the beginning of the performance by the steadiness and agreeable quality of Traubel's tones, both the soft low tones and the powerful high ones; but later they become tremolo-ridden and acidulous—though not as bad as in the recent Bridal Chamber Duet. The orchestral part is well-performed; and voice and orchestra are well-reproduced.

Why Reiner should record the Waltz from "Carousel" with the Pittsburgh Symphony (12322-D; $1) is a mystery not explained by the quality of the music. The performance and recording are good. And another mystery is Victor's recordings of performances by Harold Bauer—this time affected performances of Greig's Albumlatt Opus 28 No. 3 and Berceuse Opus 38 No. 1 (10-1217; $.75). Recording is good enough.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Report from China

[*The following excerpts are from a letter written by an American UNRRA worker stationed in Tsingtao, China, to a friend of* The Nation, *who suggests that we pass on the information to our readers.*]

Dear Friends: . . . I am in Shantung Province. The Communists have taken over 95 per cent of the province, and 36,000,000 people out of a population of 38,000,000 are in their territory. . . . The Nationalists have been clever enough to get Kiser, the UNRRA director, to give them carte blanche in the allocation of UNRRA supplies; so that they have been able to prevent any supplies going to the 36,000,000 in the Communist area and have given 87 per cent of the supplies for the whole province to the 2,000,000 in their own territory. . . . There are seven qualified Chinese doctors for the entire population of Shantung. There is a terrific amount of Kala Azar among the children and relapsing fever among the adults and tuberculosis among everybody. Infant mortality is 50 per cent, because of tetanus. . . .

In Shanghai the Red Cross Hospital and the Children's Hospital were nightmares: patients in dirty clothes lying on filthy mattresses or straw pallets—no sheets, but dirty, ragged quilts brought from home. After my visit I had dinner with ten Chinese doctors—twenty-four courses with six different soups. One dish was a hot orange soup with rose leaves, another was duck tongues and mushrooms. The cost of the dinner would have bought sheets or sleeping garments for all the fifty patients in the Children's Hospital. The next day Dr. Jean Ching at UNRRA told me that the Shanghai medical group is one of the most reactionary groups in the country.

In this province even the distribution of flour has become more or less of a racket. In a village twelve miles from here the people who register for flour have to return part of it as a "kickback."

If the Chiang Kai-shek set remains in power without the competition of another party, the masses will never have a chance. . . .

In the children's orphanages at the refugee schools here in Tsingtao the children get two meals a day, each consisting of a mixture of flour and potatoes made into a steamed ball about th size of an orange, and water. . . .

It is a tragedy in view of the nee and the indescribable poverty and mise that the money spent by UNRRA isn in the hands of men who are 100 p cent honest and 100 per cent sincer There are too many Americans ar Englishmen in this organization f what they can get out of it—peop who don't give a damn about the Ch nese and who are willing to play bi with the Nationalists in CNRRA wh are using relief supplies for politic ends. Also it is difficult to do an hone to-God job in view of this asinine agre ment of Kiser's whereby CNRRA c do anything they please with the su plies and we have no power to for an accounting. . .

Anyone who has worn out or fad children's clothing or sweaters and wh can send them to me air freight w be giving a big lift. Address them me, marked personal. Clothes no chi in the New York slums would wear can use with many thanks.

DR. CATHARINE D. LEALTAD
U. S. P. H. S., 5154, c/o UNRRA, Tsingtao, China. Third Marine Brigade, F. P. O., San Francisco

France's Senators

Dear Sirs: George Slocombe's article France Swinging to the Right? is exce lent. But when he says that "each c partment of France elected two senato irrespective of its size or population he must have mistaken the Channel f the Atlantic. The number of senato was roughly proportional to the pop lation. Representation was heav weighted in favor of the rural distric but by less obvious means.

ALBERT GUERARD
Palo Alto, Cal., May 22

Lost Generation

Dear Sirs: Very informative politi forecast, your Guide to the Primar (*The Nation,* June 1). But, alas f accuracy, in your Massachusetts pa graph you put the present Henry Cab Lodge into the wrong generation. He a grandson, not son, of the villain the Woodrow Wilson movie. His fath was George Cabot Lodge, poet, w died young. F. W. COBURN
Lowell, Mass., June 1

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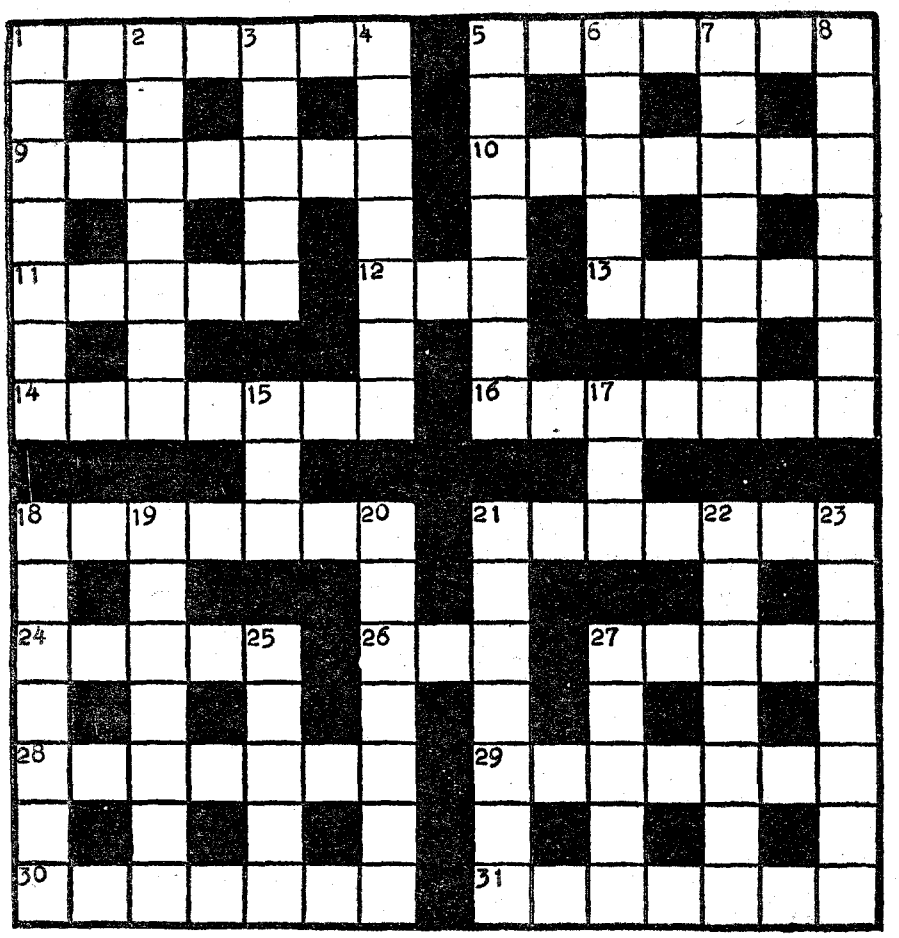
Crossword Puzzle No. 167

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 They produce striking music between them
5 Contemporary American author
9 Put in order
0 Bed and board are synonymous to him
1 Hot iron
2 Go to it
3 Delicate silk dress fabric
4 Honor
3 Alibis
3 Germany's only link with China, and that a pretty fragile one
. Turkey's soft spot
! Is present indicative
3 American humorist of an earlier day
Foreshows
Treat like a god
A thief in the night
A thing of the past
Decency

DOWN

Dish of horse
Undeserved blessings
Wipe out
A water ice
Talk mostly as ducks walk
Why you may be unable to turn over a new leaf
7 Of glass, leather or hay
8 The Germans call it "English disease"
15 Wind up
17 "Popped on its drawers and ran off," in the Spoonerism
18 No connection with barks sailing the sea
19 Covetous
20 Chinese cotton cloth
21 Overcalled one's hand
22 Sounds a fruitful busybody
23 Quack remedy
25 Fishing-net for at least one river
27 The right acid for eyewash

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 166

ACROSS:—1 HIVES; 4 COTES; 7 PURE; 9 ORMOLU; 10 MONEY; 12 ELMO; 13 STEM; 15 SALERNO; 17 SCORES; 18 TAHITI; 19 SEA; 21 FIDELIO; 23 LACOSTE; 24 PIP; 26 EDITOR; 28 SKIPPY; 31 NOMINEE; 32 YOKE; 35 MEAL; 36 PSALM; 37 LASSIE; 38 ENDS; 39 LOSER; 40 SEDAN.

DOWN:—1 HERO; 2 VIOLAS; 3 SQUEEZE; 4 CEMENT; 5 TANS; 6 SKYE; 7 PIERS; 8 ROMEO; 11 ETHICS; 14 MAIZE; 15 SEA-LION; 16 OATCAKE; 19 SOP; 20 ALP; 21 FIERY; 22 DRINKS; 25 ICICLES; 27 ROAMER; 28 SENSED; 29 PREEN; 30 YOLKS; 33 OPAL; 34 EARS; 35 MIEN.

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